

case to the Comrades' Court for examination. Yet, what if there is no such court? In such a case, the private or sergeant is either held criminally accountable or he turns out to be beyond any legal influence.

The criminal law reform is currently being drafted. In particular, it proposes a more extensive use of measures for social influence on law-breakers. I believe that this again obligates us to study the problem of re-establishing Comrades' Courts for privates and sergeants who are serving the statutory term, and to draft a corresponding legislative act.

It is difficult to conceive of the process of democratization without strengthening the individual's legal defense or expanding the guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms. This is also true with respect to the Armed Forces. Here, it seems to me, we must also take into consideration the present-day negative attitude of a certain segment of young people toward military service, caused to some extent by cases of the humiliation of individual dignity and the violations of the individual's rights which occur in the military. I am referring to so-called "non-regulation interrelations." Military service should take place under conditions of reliable legal guarantees for individuals. The necessity of these guarantees is stipulated, moreover, by the humane nature of our system, by the very essence of socialism, in which the individual is of the highest value.

The laws and regulations of the Armed Forces define the serviceman's legal status in such a way as to ensure the protection of his constitutional rights and freedoms, naturally, within a framework which takes the specific conditions of a military organization into account. In my opinion, this framework needs considerable expansion. What do I have in mind? The general military regulations describe the general, official and special duties of servicemen in great detail. Yet the regulations virtually do not define servicemen's rights in any direct form, although these rights are contained in other normative acts and implied in a number of regulation statutes. Incidentally, we do not assert that there are no rights without responsibilities or responsibilities without rights for no reason. Our regulations, of course, would be better if they contained statutes on the rights of servicemen and their basic guarantees in a direct form.

Due to the specific nature of military service, certain limitations on the servicemen's individual rights and freedoms are unavoidable. However, the interests of the matter require that this be directly stipulated by law according to the principle of the minimally permissible. It would be beneficial to introduce a norm within the regulations which prohibits placing any sort of limitation upon the rights of servicemen which is not stipulated by law or by the regulations themselves. The principle "anything not forbidden by law is permitted," which has received much publicity of late, can and should find

reflection in military legislation, not affecting the fundamentals of military law and order, such as one-man command, unquestioning obedience to orders and the strict regimentation of everyday life.

Everyone knows that criminal law stipulates strict accountability for criminal infringement upon life, health, honor and dignity, and personal freedom and property. Servicemen, like all other citizens, are guaranteed the right to legal defense against such infringements. As of 15 December 1983, by decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Law on Criminal Accountability for Military Crimes was supplemented by an article stipulating criminal accountability for violent actions by one servicemen with regard to another, when both are of equal rank. Previously, such actions were not included among military crimes and the guilty parties were punished either for hooliganism or for crimes against an individual, irregardless of the fact that they cause great damage to military law and order. The addendum to the law put everything in its proper place. Conditions were created for the more decisive and juridically accurate struggle against these disgraceful phenomena. Yet all the same... The definition itself of the crime as a "violation of statutory rules for interrelations" is rather diffident and vague, and therefore imperfect. One might get the impression that it is a matter of some harmless sort of thing. After all, statutory interrelations cover a very broad scope. Why not just directly state that it refers to the infliction of beatings, causing bodily injuries and other types of insults to fellow servicemen? Criminal law strives to call things what they are—premeditated murder, assault, banditry, threatening a chief, violence toward a chief, etc. In such a case, the law would have been violated.

The procedure for examining servicemen's suggestions, declarations and complaints must also not escape attention. Today it is regulated by the statutes of Chapter 5 of the Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces, yet only with regard to causing damage to the Armed Forces or to illegal actions on the part of commanders and violation of the serviceman's rights. Yet, what if the serviceman wants to make a suggestion or declaration of a different nature, for instance, related to the further strengthening of the Armed Forces? Of course, he has not been deprived of that right. The laws currently in effect do not forbid him from turning to the military prosecutor's office with declarations and complaints, or from complain of unjust actions by officials who damaged his rights as a citizen, within the limits set by law. It would be desirable to reflect all such situations within the military regulations.

Firm guarantees of the democratization of life in the Armed Forces are inconceivable without improvements, the development of military legislation, and the introduction within it of new ideas, born of restructuring and dictated by the times.

Worker, Party Official, Journalist Express Hopes on Eve of Conference

18000486 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 88
pp 1-2

[Interview with V. Tikhomirov, lathe operator of the Plant imeni Vladimir Ilich and member of the CPSU Central Committee; V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee; and Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, journalist, doctor of economic sciences, first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, by B. Kozhemyako: "The Renewal—Within Us"; date and place not given]

[Text] From whatever positions we have approached the choice of strategies for development of our economy, culture, and social and spiritual life, man will be the principal factor. It is on this basis that the party has advanced the task: revolutionary restructuring as the ideology of renewal. How is it being performed in everyday life? What have been the shifts and interferences, what have been the difficulties and problems here? A correspondent of PRAVDA put these questions to three delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, representing party members of Moscow along with other comrades. Those taking part in the conversation were V. Tikhomirov, lathe operator in the Plant imeni Vladimir Ilich and member of the CPSU Central Committee, V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee, and O. Latsis, doctor of economic sciences, journalist, and first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST.

[Question] All four of us are children of our time and it might be said of a particular time: the mid-thirties. Just as we recall the history books in which the portraits of the "enemies of the people" were painted in black and white, so our country's biography was presented to us with the secrecy of a prison, or, as it is now put, with blank spots. And now in the schools they have even been forced to eliminate the history examinations: the textbooks have turned out to be very far from the actual historical reality. In short, everyone has to learn all over again—both young and old.

[V. Tikhomirov] The press is helping while there are no history books for teaching. On the way to work at 0600 hours you see how they are buying up the newspapers, how people are passing them from hand to hand. And you arrive where you work—and the first question is "Did you read?..." To tell the truth, I do not manage to read everything that is interesting in the newspapers and journals. In general, my thanks to the journalists.

[O. Latsis] It is, of course, pleasant to hear something like that from readers. But when my colleagues in the profession begin to praise themselves—we, they say, are the leaders of restructuring, we are in the front ranks, and so on—I get irritated. Now, of course, we have restructured ourselves to some extent. Or perhaps it is more accurate to say that we have been restructured? We

have been given the opportunity to write about things which were previously prohibited. And now a mass of facts has been dumped into the pages of newspapers and journals. But they still have to be assimilated in thought—that is the point!

[Question] When you speak about the depth of the journalistic and scientific analysis, I liked very much your article in IZVESTIYA, Otto Rudolfovich. You remember, the answer to the reader? Concerning the myths about the times of Stalin, about how good our life was then. In my opinion, something like that conversation is exactly what we need—without hysteria, convincingly and meaningfully.

[O. Latsis] But some readers react altogether without restraint. What a roasting they gave for nothing to poor Mironov, who wrote the letter. And me as well, of course. You know, no one is indifferent here. The letters are fervent, the soul cries out.

[Question] Probably there is no other way it could be. The topic under analysis is too acute. Although.... I will tell an astonishing story. In Novgorod they held a plenum of the party obkom to discuss the results of the February Plenum of the Central Committee and the tasks in the ideological effort. Before that, the oblast newspaper had reprinted an article by Nina Andreevna from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and then, of course, an editorial of PRAVDA. But the report went on and there was not a word about that. The discussion began—again quite short. Then one local writer could not hold back and sent a note to the presidium: "Explain why our newspaper has after all reprinted the manifesto of the forces opposed to restructuring?" After that, during the pause practically all the secretaries on the obkom talked to a second writer so that he would not ask for the floor. Why, they said, arouse passions? And after the break no one spoke again about this most acute ideological situation. The entire plenum gave the appearance that nothing special had even happened. You see, things are glossed over, they close their eyes in silence to even an acute issue.

[V. Vinogradov] So what, that is also a position. The position of the ostrich who burrows his head in the sand. If acute issues are raised (and they are being raised more and more!)—it will turn away, it will attempt to be silent, it will attempt to clothe itself in some sort of general rhetoric. Half-measures, half-truths, half-glasnost.... No, if something like that succeeds anywhere, then soon, I am convinced, it will not succeed anywhere. People want to know the whole truth and only the truth, without exception. And they want to talk about everything openly. We also had a plenum on the ideological effort. Some 24 persons spoke. There are times when even more speak. I think they mainly speak from the heart. But in our rayon there are also those who feel that "it is better

not to arouse passions." They are the ones who want everything to remain as it has been. Then, after all, there are fewer worries and troubles and indeed also less responsibility.

[V. Tikhomirov] You can't avoid worries, hide from them. And acute issues make you think. I recently talked to a young lad who had come back from the armed forces. I told him to prepare himself for joining the party, that we would help him. I had known him before he went away—a good production worker, a civic-minded man. He seemed to agree. But after a time I observed and saw that my Seryozha was beginning to waver. "How did it happen," he said, "Vladimir Porfirievich, that the party allowed the repression and the stagnation?" You see how the change takes place. So, I think that you and I, friend, have to have a little talk about basics, and more than one, OK, a little talk.... I will tell the truth: some party members and even party officials shirk the complicated problems which reality brings to the surface. Today, after all, you do not grab somebody by the throat, you do not beat him up with your fists. Persuade, argue, debate—that is the different method.

[O. Latsis] I would like to know, Vladimir Porfirievich, if they have begun to work better in your plant? And in general, what do they think about things today? You see, we receive many letters, they talk about restructuring, about glasnost and democratization, we are working more strenuously, we have created the new economic system, to be sure, it is only beginning to take hold, it is early for it to have been able to yield full results, but still.... But it has not become easier to live. Probably it has even become more difficult. Why is this? Just as before there are still many goods that are not in the stores. The trade sector seems outrageous, that is the way it is. What is this restructuring? People say: there is talk, but we do not see results.

[V. Tikhomirov] I also hear that in my own collective. Things are bad there, there are lines, there is rude treatment.... But my thought is who will change all this for us? The question you asked was this: Have they begun to work better at the plant? Not everyone by any means! There are still many finger-pointers, which is what I call them. They come up to you and begin to point to where things are bad. They say, you are a member of the Central Committee, go and set things right. But why me, and not you yourself? There are even party members among those finger-pointers, that is what is especially annoying. Instead of doing, they poke with their finger.

[O. Latsis] You have made the transition to full cost accounting (khozraschet) and self-financing?

[V. Tikhomirov] Not yet. The reason is that a big reconstruction project is taking place in our plant. But we do have brigades working on contract.

[V. Vinogradov] Where they have made the transition to the new economic system it has gotten far better. Not everywhere, but you can already see it. I am judging just by our industrial-trade association specializing in leather clothing accessories. People's feeling of being the boss is increasing—that is the most important thing. They are beginning to show more initiative. The alienation from production is being overcome.

Or I might speak about young people. In our case they have gotten together from various enterprises to form a youth housing cooperative. They work together, they rest together. As they say, when you eat, you get an appetite. They have completed construction of housing—then they tackled a complex for physical education and rehabilitation. They have activated it. With their close-knit collective they have done more in 3 or 4 months than was done in an entire year before them. They have used substandard materials and installed the wall panels. Now everything is there: both a covered sports arena and a complete physical therapy complex, and soon a young people's club will open, a cafe with ice cream and nonalcoholic cocktails.

You cannot influence young people by just applying the methods of administrative command and autocratic methods. We might as well face it, we tried. We managed to achieve very little that was any good that way. Then we tried the other way. For example, we got the "Metal-listy" to come to our Culture Center "Kommuna"; through the city Komsomol committee we invited the "Rok-Metal" Laboratory. On the initiative of the rayon Komsomol committee the club "Dialog" was organized. And young people have been drawn there because interesting encounters, disputes, and conversations take place. With journalists and filmmakers, with physicians and party leaders....

[O. Latsis] You, Valeriy Viktorovich, have in my opinion touched on an extremely important question which has long been disturbing me personally, one whose solution would seem in large part to be crucial to our restructuring. This is overcoming authoritarianism. We say more democracy, more socialism! We think back to Lenin, who emphasized that the Soviets meant not only power for the workers, but also power of the workers. And in this we speak and remember rightly. But here at the same time there is this damned microbe of authoritarianism in our society. And, of course, it is very harmful to our cause.

We know very well where this microbe came from. The basis of its influence is fear, which came to us from the era of the cult of personality and was replaced by the indifference of the period of stagnation. What is the "principle" here? I will give you an order—and you will carry it out. I am the state, the party, the gorkom, the Central Committee, the ministry, or the Academy of Sciences. I have more experience and a higher position. I am the father in the family, the teacher in the school. I

will look after your welfare, I will tell you what is necessary, and there is no longer any need for you to think, you just do what I say.

That is the authoritarian perception in the school and in the VUZ. That is the kind of authoritarianism in propaganda, in the operation of the public organizations, the attitude toward literature, which ultimately means you read this, and do not read that. It is the same thing with music. I think that even the notorious "dedovshchina" in the armed forces was engendered by this. A man entered the army after going through a course in authoritarian training in the family, in the school, and in the vocational and technical school. His aggressiveness builds up when here again they begin to order him around. And then when he gets rank, he feels that the power is in his hands—and he will not give it up to anyone.

That is why I like it when you respect the personality in a man. Build a youth housing cooperative for yourself, and a sports complex, and figure out yourself which music is really good and which is nothing more than a clanking of iron. We, they say, are trying to help you without any strings. That is the point of restructuring. Democracy—so that people do not do things because they are ordered to do them, but do them on their own.

[V. Vinogradov] If we are going to talk about the sense of being the boss, I would make reference to the elections of leaders, which are now being practiced ever more widely. Very interesting incidents are occurring! For instance, at the Plant imeni 1 May they elected the chief of one of the shops. The party bureau and management nominated the candidates, but the collective did not agree. They elected someone milder, obliging, more easygoing. And all this may, of course, be rather pleasant in practice. But it is not so much a good-hearted manager we need as one who is skillful. And this person began to simply let the work pile up. When you take into account that cost accounting has been introduced in the shop, so that everyone's pocketbook is quickly affected by that kind of management, then you can understand the workers who in just 3 months raised the question of replacing the chief. You see, they themselves realized what kind of manager is needed today. The sense of being the boss prompted them.

And what happened in the construction repair administration of Goskino? Yereshchenko was the chief there. He is like the direct opposite of the shop chief. Rigid, determined. But then his authoritarian and administrative methods came into conflict with reality. They began in the administration to make the transition to self-financing and cost accounting, and he absolutely did not take the council of the work collective into account. The coefficients were all arrived at in the office, behind a door that was shut tight. The workers raised their voices, and so did he—out of arrogance. So they called a meeting of the council of the collective, they declared a lack of confidence, and they voted to get rid of him. Here again,

if you please, is the sense of being the boss. I would even say the boldness of being the boss! Earlier perhaps, they might have been silent and reconciled themselves. But not now.

Now people have begun to take a far stricter attitude toward the moral image of the leader and manager. For example, for a long time they put up with the monkey business of Pototskiy, secretary of the party organization of the assembly administration of Minlesprom. You know, he worked as section chief, and that means jacking up pay and awarding unwarranted bonuses, it was all up to him. In short, he kept people quiet. And in those 6 years' time he managed to resell five private automobiles. And to choose among the buyers. And so ultimately his subordinates were fierce in making an issue of him. Just as it should be.

[Question] I would like to ask you, Valeriy Viktorovich, how things stand with you concerning cooperation? How many cooperatives do you have in your rayon now?

[V. Vinogradov] There are 39 registered, 28 of them are already in operation. I feel that we need to support cooperatives in every way. The service sector in our rayon has not been set up as well as on the average in Moscow. But even that is not the only trouble. We have become convinced in practice of the diverse benefits of cooperatives. They have already rendered services to the public in the amount of 600,000 rubles, and produced consumer goods worth 130,000.

[O. Latsis] And the state sector also has a service sector in your rayon?

[V. Vinogradov] Now here it runs to tens of millions. The cooperatives have taken only the first steps. So, as I have said, they need to be given every kind of support at present. We have been supporting the cooperatives in the party raykom. They listened, they dealt with all the difficulties, they discovered what were the most complicated problems, and they held counsel on how best to solve them.

It has turned out that it is even advantageous to create cooperatives in association with industrial enterprises. Just one example. Rejected zippers have accumulated for years in the "Molniya" Plant. They did not bother with them because there was no financial motivation to do so. But now they have created a cooperative with a few workers, and they have made use of them. This year alone they have earned about 60,000 rubles of clear profit for the enterprise. As you see, a cooperative has been operating successfully under contract with a plant.

Other interesting examples were also referred to in a meeting held in the headquarters of the raykom. But here is what we did not expect: the cooperators themselves came forth with their own suggestion of crediting a sizable amount to the Communist Saturday fund, and another part of the money to fit out the children's home.

[V. Tikhomirov] Probably it cost them nothing to make that appropriation from their proceeds. Right now at the plant, I will be frank, we are interested in seeing that people do not flee from enterprises into cooperatives. I think that tax policy must be stricter.

[O. Latsis] So as to smother the child while it is still in the cradle? Oh, I was afraid it would turn out this way. What very clever masters we are at "keeping people down and not letting them go." They are getting too much money? But where is the line between what is too much and what is not? And then the main thing is that that money be earned.

[Question] Allow me to put yet another question to you in this connection. There is a fear (expressed by many) that the drive for material interests, to get ahead, might have had repercussions in the nonmaterial sphere, in people's upbringing. Just look, a popular journalist gave an article of his the title "Ideals or Interests?" Another titled his book "A Socialism of Reason Against a Socialism of Feeling." Doesn't this kind of opposition contain a threat to the consciousness and ideals of our people? In general, it is a question of economics and ethics.

[O. Latsis] It seems to me that quite often we impose on the economy all kinds of collateral duties that are not proper to it. And in the end there is not much it can do. It cannot play the piano, for example, nor can it remove an appendix. It is not to blame for that, this in fact is something it should not do. Upbringing is still a particular function of society.

I would even say that a bad economy, one that is poorly organized, is always immoral. It only makes people depraved and corrupt. It makes it clear to him that he needs to steal, that if you do not steal, you will go to ruin. I am not speaking now about business executives, enterprise directors, who have been forced to use every dodge since they had not honest way to fulfill the plan.

So, I repeat: a bad economy is amoral, and a good economy...would be neutral from the moral standpoint. Upbringing is after all not the task of production.

[V. Vinogradov] No, I do not agree with you here at all. I will give a real example. In our rayon we have the "Stekloagregat" Plant. For many years it was among the real stragglers. Reconstruction projects were not carried out, for many years there was no change in the capital assets. More than 30 percent of the people are working there on assignments from job placement offices—that is, "birds of passage" who have already made mistakes everywhere.

And then the management of the enterprise was removed. I will not say that a miracle occurred immediately and that everything was transformed by a sleight of hand. That is not, of course, the way it was. Gradually, step by step, the atmosphere of the plant did change. It began with more attention to people. And an interest

sprang up in them to build for themselves a sauna, employee facilities, rooms for rest and psychological relaxation.... Those who felt themselves to be temporary stayed on as permanent personnel. There was a change in the attitude toward work. And especially when cost accounting began to be introduced. What does this example tell us?

[O. Latsis] If there is full cost accounting, which makes man the true boss in production, then probably we would not refer to that mechanism as neutral. It would be moral. Responsibility will be formed in a man for what he produces and for what he spends. He will begin to count not just the money in his own pocket, but to estimate the end result of his own work and the work of the entire collective. That is already a certain level of morality. Let it even pass first through his own pocket. But ultimately it will be social morality. And if a man spends what belongs to society as though it were no one's, there is no morality. Such a man is capable of anything, whoever he is—be he worker or minister in the government.

[Question] And the last question: What do you especially expect from the 19th All-Union Party Conference?

[V. Tikhomirov] Decisions which ultimately will enhance the role and responsibility of party members in our society. That is why I support the proposal stated in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee about conducting sociopolitical certification of party members. The party should be more resolute in ridding itself of the ballast that has accumulated in the years of stagnation. Both enrollment and the party ranks need to be dealt with far more strictly, free of the notorious distribution orders. To be honest, it is humiliating when people look at an idler, a money-grubber, a time-server, or embezzler and say: "That is what they are like, those communists...."

[V. Vinogradov] I attribute great importance to the course outlined in the Theses toward a clear delineation of the functions of party and soviet authorities. Everyone must stick to his own job, without replacing or duplicating one another. Along with another three raykoms in Moscow, we are conducting an experiment the point of which is to eliminate departments for the various branches and sectors. In my opinion, the new organization of work in the party committee is justifying itself.

[O. Latsis] I feel that we should not expect any instantaneous miracle from the conference. All the problems which have accumulated in our society for decades cannot be solved in a few days. But I still think that we can collectively find approaches to solving many problems. Even with respect to reform of our political system and in the economy and the social sphere. It is important to find additional potential so that even in the near future we can raise the material standard of living of our

people. And, of course, the people expect new steps in development of democratization and glasnost which will make restructuring irreversible.

07045

Military Leadership Views Pre-Conference Debate
LD2806111 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
28 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate have discussed the results of the debate among Army and Navy Communists and personnel on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference.

It was noted that the CPSU Central Committee Theses have occupied a central place in Army and Navy life. The discussion has been conducted at open party, trade union, and Komsomol meetings and in military and labor collectives. Delegates elected to the conference have taken an active part in this work. They have been given numerous mandates at their meetings with personnel.

Everywhere the discussion was conducted in an atmosphere of free, businesslike exchange of opinion, critical analysis of the achievements to date in the years of restructuring in the country as a whole and in every military and labor collective, and a frank comparison of views. The participants in the meetings tried to establish as clearly as possible where restructuring is successfully gathering momentum and where it is moving only slowly, boldly discussed the factors holding back the process of renewal and the people responsible, and suggested real measures to smash the braking mechanism.

More than 92,000 proposals were made at the meetings, including some 35,000 addressed to the 19th all-union party conference. A special place was given to proposals designed to create reliable guarantees of restructuring's irreversibility. Most of them are concerned with improving the ideological and political situation in the country, consolidating the policy of glasnost, and tackling the problems of strengthening the party, making internal party life more democratic, and enhancing the role played by the CPSU as the leading, organizing force in Soviet society.

A considerable proportion of the proposals are aimed at strengthening the defense capability of our state and its Armed Forces. In this connection the Thesis on the Priority of Qualitative Parameters in Defense Building, the Technical Equipping of the Army and Navy, and the Training and Education of Personnel was discussed with particular interest. The state of affairs in specific military collectives was studied in depth and from every angle and constructive proposals were made. Considering the danger of war that exists, the conference documents propose that emphasis be placed on the constitutional and program thesis on the duty of every Soviet citizen to defend the socialist fatherland.

The participants in the meetings addressed a considerable number of critical observations and proposals to a series of main and central directorates under the USSR Defense Ministry. They are concerned with seeking ways to more effectively enhance the combat readiness and quality of training of Army and Navy personnel, improve cadre policy, and restructure the sociopolitical life of military collectives.

The proposals addressed to the conference have been sent to the CPSU Central Committee and the remainder are being examined by the USSR Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Personnel will be informed of the decisions taken on these proposals through political bodies and party organizations.

Numerous proposals and observations were addressed to administrative bodies and to the command and party organizations of units and subunits. The USSR Defense Ministry and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy are appealing to commanders, staffs, political bodies, and elected party bodies to take the necessary measures to implement them.

Preparations for the 19th all-union party conference and the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses have had a favorable impact on every aspect of life and activity in army and navy collectives and contributed to enhanced combat readiness and stronger military discipline.

The USSR Defense Ministry and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy are confident that Army and Navy personnel will take the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference to heart, make every effort to put them into practice, and, through their military labor, make a worthy contribution to the task of strengthening the armed defense of our motherland.

Estonian Creative Unions Address Appeal to Conference

18000420 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
13 May 88 p 3

[Appeal unanimously adopted by the unified plenum of boards of the creative unions of Estonian SSR on 2 April 1988 in Tallinn]

[Text] We the participants in the unified plenum of the boards of creative unions of Estonian SSR appeal to the 19th All-Union Party Conference to express our attitude toward certain urgent problems in the development of our society whose discussion at the conference we consider vitally necessary to achievement of the most important goals of restructuring.

The upsurge of social and political activity of the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Estonia and of the entire people stands in sharp contrast to that atmosphere of political alienation, cynicism, and disappointment which appeared insurmountable just 3 years ago. This shift in the mood of society and people's social behavior, which was brought about by the course initiated by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the party's 27th congress, is the first real triumph of restructuring in Estonia, in spite of the many problems that have not been solved and which have been exposed during development of glasnost.

At first glance it is the strain on interethnic relations in the republics that is the most disturbing of these problems. We consider it our duty to appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and party conference to thoroughly analyze the objective economic and political contradictions in development of our multinational state that lie behind such adverse tendencies. These are interrelations between republics which have voluntarily joined the Union and union government authorities. It is indispensable to reestablish the Leninist principles of the sovereignty and equality of the union republics.

One of the issues crucial to the destiny of restructuring is the shattering of the ossified bureaucratic machine, which led our society to the brink of economic and political crisis. In the ethnic republics the omnipotence of the bureaucracy took the form of legitimized arbitrariness on the part of union ministries and departments, which have neglected local economic, ecological, and sociocultural needs and interests. As a consequence, the local economy has been operating at a loss, migration has been growing uncontrollably, the threat of ecological disasters has been increasing, and the population has been increasingly dissatisfied with the way their social and cultural demands have been met. In the context of a multinational state all of this is fraught with exacerbation of ethnic relations and growing dissatisfaction of the local population with the activity of the central authority. The local bureaucracy, accustomed to belittling and concealing problems of this kind and not wishing to change the situation, gladly substitutes activity meant

for show and an indoctrinational effort and struggle against alleged nationalism instead of solving the real socioeconomic problems. And in the present situation of restructuring it is also striving to derive again for itself by speculating on the threat of separatism, by disinforming nationwide public opinion and at the same time helping from below to aggravate the dissatisfaction of the population with the actions of central departments, hoping that this will ultimately result in disappointment with restructuring.

Estonia is no exception in this. The decades of extensive economic activity, including unrestrained expansion of industrial enterprises under union jurisdiction, have had an adverse effect on the demographic, ecological, and recently even economic situation in the republic.

The share of the main nationality in the republic has dropped by one-third since 1945 and is approaching a figure below 60 percent, which has brought a state of social depression on the Estonian nationality. With respect to the mining of shale on our territory, we can speak even now of a senseless waste of a raw material which will be increasingly valuable to the chemical industry in the future. The planned expansion of thermal power stations and increased oil shale mining are an example of inefficient and mismanaged production. The good-for-nothing and economically unsound expansion of the production of phosphorites demanded by the USSR Ministry of Fertilizer Industry threatens to take the ecological blockage both of our republic and also of neighboring states of the Baltic Sea to the verge of crisis. Further attempts to expand industrial production in Estonia involving a strain on the local labor supply will result in rising popular resentment. It has to be acknowledged that the republic's representative bodies have been displaying conformism and have not been taking sufficient advantage of the legal rights they have to prevent the adverse tendencies and to restrain departmental ambitions.

The inability of the republic's leadership to manage complicated political and socioeconomic processes in this situation has become obvious. This circumstance, along with the insufficiency of democracy and glasnost in solving the most important strategic problems in development of Estonian SSR, have resulted in a manifest crisis of confidence in the republic.

The problems referred to above require in our opinion radical changes in the political system as to guidance of the union republics; it must be brought into conformity with the principles of socialist self-management and democracy:

1. On behalf of consistent implementation of Leninist principles of socialist federalism, we propose discussion in the party conference of the need to spell out the constitutional guarantees of the sovereignty of the union republics.

We consider it especially important to amend those provisions of the USSR Constitution (Article 73, Paragraphs 5, 6, and 7) in which all-union departments are essentially given unrestricted power in management of economic life on the territory of the union republics.

We also consider it indispensable to make revisions in the points of the USSR Constitution (Article 33) concerning citizenship of the union republics and on that basis to delineate citizens' rights and duties with respect to the USSR and with respect to the union republic. The constitutional guarantee of the parity rights of the union republics in forming central bodies of government and an essential increase in the practical participation of the union republics in dealing with nationwide economic and political issues and in the representation of the USSR abroad should also be considered important. Extensive centralism in international cooperation acts as a brake on economic life as well as on the exchange of information and culture in union republics. We feel the time has come to raise the issue of representation of the USSR in international cultural, scientific, athletic, and other organizations at the level of the union republics.

The right of every person to live and work abroad if he wishes and the right to return to the homeland afterward should be constitutionally guaranteed.

The need has arisen to adopt a law on federal arrangement of the multinational socialist state, which would define the jurisdiction of all the national-state structures of the Soviet Union and would be aimed at protecting and developing the ethnic and cultural pluralism of our society.

So that all the constitutional propositions are set down in legislation and actually enforced, the all-union legal code is in need of review and revision, and the enforcement of specific laws needs a reliable system of social monitoring, including a Constitutional Court, which would preclude the possibility of violation of legality by legislative and law enforcement authorities.

2. On behalf of practical implementation of the principles of socialist democracy, we propose adoption at the party conference of a fundamental decision concerning the need for radical and immediate change of the electoral system. We consider the most essential provisions of that system to be the practical realization of the freedom to nominate candidates for deputy, repeal of the prescriptions concerning the membership of soviets which are bureaucratic in practice, and also guaranteeing the possibility of a real choice among different candidates. It would be advisable to grant to the union republics the right to work out their own provisions concerning elections on the basis of general principles, taking into account the level of political sophistication and character of democratic traditions in the specific republics. In addition, there is a need to draw a clear line between the functions of party authorities and those of

soviet authorities, to broaden and guarantee the rights of soviets elected by the people, and to endow their activity with a certain permanency and professionalism.

The holding of referendums on the most important issues in the life of society at both the all-union level and also the level of the republic should be spelled out in legislation and guaranteed in practice.

3. The progress of restructuring has led us to the conviction that its success can be guaranteed only if a resolute attitude is taken by personnel both in the economy and in politics, if representatives of the young generation are brought into bodies of management, since the braking mechanisms activated every time a new initiative is taken indicate that a majority of the leaders, who are accustomed to the way of thinking and style of management of the times of the stagnation, are capable of becoming only verbally involved in restructuring.

It would be worthwhile at the All-Union Party Conference to give a fundamentally new thrust to democratic renewal of personnel, renouncing the prescriptions defined in terms of the party list of personnel. A person's competence, honesty, political sophistication, ability, and achievement must be the principal criteria of whether he is suitable for a position in our society. We consider it fundamentally important to restrict tenure of all elective positions in party and soviet bodies and also the respective staffs to two reporting periods.

4. Increasing mutual trust between the people and the holders of power is an essential cornerstone of restructuring. We propose to the conference that it set its sights on resolutely eliminating the secrecy in all spheres of our life, above all in the activity of party bodies and law enforcement agencies. We also consider it self-evident that full transcripts should be published of sessions of soviets and meetings of plenums of party committees. The time has come to carry out a reform of the activity of the courts and procurators' offices, to fully guarantee that presumption of innocence is observed, and the rights of the bar are broadened.

The question of guaranteeing fully open access of the people to reliable state statistics on all the parameters of our social and economic activity, public scrutiny of which may be restricted only by considerations of a defense nature, should be considered very important.

5. On behalf of moral atonement of guilt for the past and of averting lawlessness in the future, we consider it necessary to issue an assessment in the party conference of the Stalinist repressions as crimes against humanity, against the party, and Soviet power, of the administrative-bureaucratic system created in that period as betrayal of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, it is necessary to accomplish and publicize the rehabilitation of all the innocent victims of that period and perpetuate their memory.

6. We consider it extremely necessary to consistently decentralize management of economic life on behalf of invigoration of the country's economic life, a sharp upsurge of the economic activity at the local level, reasonable use of natural resources, and a revelation of the creative potential of the entire people. The primacy of territorial administration over departmental management must become the basic principle of economic life in our country so that the population of the region or republic is the fully authorized master of the national wealth produced on that territory. Relations among the republics and regions must be structured on the principles of mutually advantageous equivalent exchange. It should be especially emphasized that a region that produces a particular product must first have an opportunity to completely satisfy its own needs for that product. Otherwise it would seem out of the question to achieve motivation of the producers as to the results of their own activity.

It is to that end that we propose that the principles of cost accounting and self-financing, including independence in writing their own budgets, be extended to the republics and other regions of the country. The proposal to this effect advanced by scientists of our republic has won the broad support of the people, and the scientific research that has been initiated would make it possible for ESSR to make the transition to full cost accounting even in the next 5-year planning period.

7. On behalf of radical improvement of ethnic relations in the country, it is particularly important to grant all nationalities living in the USSR full and effective independence in dealing with the issues of the national culture, education, the press, and other problems of intellectual life. The people of all nationalities must be guaranteed the right of unhindered use of their native language in all spheres of life within their own national territory, including, and this is self-evident, the right to receive education in their native language.

We hope that the 19th All-Union Party Conference will ensure the development in our country of an up-to-date socialist society based on the equality and friendship of peoples and economic efficiency. We assure you that the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Estonia will do everything within its power to achieve that goal.

07045

Estonians Want Economic Independence for Republic

18000421 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 26 May 88 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kraft and Ya. Leimann under the "Toward the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" rubric: "With a Constructive and Dynamic Economic Program!"]

[Text] In advance of the 19th All-Union Party Conference there has been a substantial increase in the activity and strengthening of the hopes for the future of all the

country's citizens, including those of Estonian SSR, and they have now reached their apex in electing delegates to the conference and in shaping the proposals which they are to present. A large number of constructive proposals worth carrying out have been made during the last year in the Estonian SSR. We have a valuable pool of ideas waiting to be applied.

We adhere to the opinion that the most important of those ideas is the basic and fundamental idea of establishing republic economic independence, of replacing administrative methods by economic methods of management, which needs to be implemented very soon. Our proposal is that it be the central idea which our republic's delegation substantiate and present at the party conference and that it advocate its very speedy implementation.

In the light of the real state of affairs we feel that this idea should be implemented in stages.

In the first stage, covering 1989 and 1990, the following:

1) the entire physical production of Estonian SSR would be subordinated to the republic (except the defense industry), including production based on minerals, that production programs of enterprises and farms be radically altered, guided by integration of science and production and nature, and the Law on the Enterprise fully introduced;

2) realization of all material values produced at enterprises under republic jurisdiction would be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic, including its capability of dealing with all matters related to the proportions of intra- and extrarepublic sales on the basis of the market, the principle of mutual advantage and all-union state orders in a volume not to exceed 20-30 percent of the consumer goods produced;

3) the handling of all export and import operations conducted by enterprises and organizations of the republic and also use of incoming foreign exchange and organization of credit relations with foreign countries be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic;

4) a procedure would be established whereby raw materials, supplies, and equipment could be freely purchased outside the republic, and all material values and services rendered outside the republic would be sold at negotiated prices so as to take into account the conditions on the market and price proportions.

In making these proposals we are guided by the fact that the revolutionary chain reaction in the economy needs a "critical mass" whose existence will be guaranteed by simultaneous and rapid realization of the ideas set forth above.

In the second stage, i.e., beginning with the 13th FYP, would come realization of the proposals ensuing from the draft now being prepared concerning the republic's full cost accounting, the conception of which should be set forth at the 19th Party Conference and its approval obtained. The draft of the decree on carrying out the republic's conversion to full cost accounting should be submitted to the 28th party congress.

In setting forth this two-stage constructive economic program, we are deeply convinced that restructuring can be accomplished in the various regions of the USSR at differing rates and with differing content. Efforts need to be made in the republic to introduce economic methods of management at a rate that exceeds the union rate, since implementation of all the decisions adopted up to now, including the decisions of the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has failed to achieve a radical turnaround in the economy.

It has to be explained at the 19th Party Conference that Estonian SSR is potentially ready for a bold risk. In case of success, Estonian SSR would become a truly experimental union republic, and it would disseminate the practice of economic activity at a higher level to the other union republics.

In carrying out the economic program that has been set forth, reliance should be placed on the changes that have already been initiated in the economy, on the programs for political change that are to be drafted at the 19th Party Conference and in subsequent stages, and V.I. Lenin's statement should be realized to the effect that "...the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be represented only concerning military and diplomatic relations, while the full independence of the individual people's commissariats should be established in all other relations" (V.I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 34, pp 361-362).

We adhere to the line that this kind of model of a future authentic union of soviet and socialist republics could be implemented even in the 1st half of the nineties if the people and the soviets they elect deem it necessary.

We hope that the upcoming plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee will discuss the program proposed, that the delegation elected by the plenum will be quick to achieve the support of the republic's party organization and make proper preparations for a worthy defense of this program in Moscow at the 19th Party Conference, zealously seeking out even during the conference people of like mind and advocates from among the highest leaders and scientists of the Soviet Union.

Estonian Komsomol Plenum Addresses Party Conference

18000572a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
1 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed Appeal to the 19th All-Union Party Conference]

[Text] We, the participants in the plenum of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, in recognizing that at the present stage of restructuring "Strategy is Being Transformed into Real Policy and into Real Processes in Society and Encompasses All Strata," we affirm our full support for the strategic course of the CPSU of restructuring the life of society.

In recent years, there have been significant changes in the atmosphere of political life with the widening of glasnost, democratization; and prerequisites have been created for fundamental changes in the economy. All of this has led ultimately to the strengthening of socialism and to an improvement in the life of the people.

However, we are concerned that many problems are being solved slowly. The more dynamic realization of restructuring is being impeded by the existing system of centralized administration both in the economic spheres as well as in other spheres of life. There must be a fundamental revision in the actual relationships between the party and state bodies and the social organizations. We feel that it is essential to bring the level of decision-taking as close as possible to the level of the realization of the decisions, leaving within the competence of the central bodies only the elaboration of a strategy for the development of the spheres of social life. We must also ensure the independence of all the subdivisions of society in the exercising of their functions. Only in this manner will we be able to achieve a situation where our words converge with our deeds.

We are hoping that the 19th Party Conference will further develop the Leninist principles of nationality policy.

The pattern of the growing role played by youth in the restructuring of society and the growth of its political awareness have brought about a need for a more precise and sound defining of the concept of the youth movement in the USSR, of the role and place of the Komsomol as a sociopolitical organization and the elaboration and implementation of a unified, effective youth policy.

In full accord with the instructions of V.I. Lenin that "we must unconditionally stand for the organizational independence of the Youth League...", we consider it essential to revise the practices of party leadership over the Komsomol. The CPSU should provide political leadership. The Komsomol, being a youth organization, should not copy the party in structure, functions and forms.

The Plenum of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee is submitting for review to the 19th All-Union Party Conference the following proposals:

1. Proceeding from the concept stated in the Preamble of the CPSU By-Laws that "the CPSU, in remaining in its class essence, the ideology of the working class, have become a party of all the people," to carry out in practice the admission to the CPSU in terms of ideological conviction and not from social status.

2. In the aim of broadening intraparty democracy and increasing the responsibility of the primary party organizations, to grant the latter the right of final acceptance of the candidate CPSU members.

3. In considering the place and role of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society, it is essential to publicize party activities more widely and profoundly: in holding party plenums, conferences and congresses, all the speeches should be published without cuts in the party press, and direct television and radio broadcasts should be organized, there should be fuller coverage of the sessions of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee as well as the elective bodies of the local party organizations and the positions of their members on discussed questions.

4. In understanding the importance of the decisions of the 19th Party Conference for the future of the party and all society, we propose a broad discussion of the draft decisions of the party conference in the primary party organizations and the labor collectives. For this the 19th Party Conference should be held in two stages with an interval between of 2 or 3 months.

5. The analysis made by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent party forums of the state of Soviet society, the course of restructuring in political, economic and social spheres and the necessity of lifting the obstacle standing on the path of revolutionary progress and the making of this irreversible demand the incorporation of a number of supplements and amendments in the nation's Basic Law, the USSR Constitution.

We propose that the 19th All-Union Party Conference recommend to the USSR Supreme Soviet that a commission be set up to review proposals on supplements and amendments in the USSR Constitution, in presenting these for extensive discussion by all the people.

6. The functions and independence of the Komsomol should be reinforced and guaranteed along with the party as the center of the political system and the leading and directing force of Soviet society. We propose that the relationships of the CPSU and the Komsomol be analyzed and recommend that the CPSU Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee work out and adopt a joint document on party and Komsomol relationships.

7. In full accord with the instructions of V.I. Lenin that "we must stand unconditionally for the organizational independence of the Youth League...", we feel it necessary to incorporate the following supplements and amendments in the CPSU By-Laws:

—The phrase "the Komsomol organizations must be active proponents of party ideas in all spheres of production and social life" (Chapter VIII, paragraph 64) should be changed to "the Komsomol organizations must actively carry out the CPSU Program in all spheres of production and social life";

—The first section of paragraph 65 of Chapter VIII ("The Komsomol works under the leadership of the CPSU. The work of the local Komsomol organizations is directed and supervised by the corresponding republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations") should read as follows: "The Komsomol works under the political leadership of the CPSU. The work of the local Komsomol organizations is directed by the appropriate republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations."

8. In recognition not in words but in deed the objective pattern of the growing role of the youth in the life of our society, at the present stage it is essential to elaborate a unified and effective youth policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government as a method for the conscious implementation of this pattern.

Within the context of the shaping of youth policy, we feel it essential to adopt a Youth Law which would reflect the main rights and duties of the youth, would create a unified legal concept for implementing youth policy and become a legal basis for carrying out the programs involving work with the youth. For realizing a youth policy we propose establishing a state body for youth affairs.

9. In order to release the creative forces of the people as the master of their land and to defend the natural resources against their squandering in departmental interests and to ensure the normalization of international relations as well as the opportunities for a correct correlation of the contribution by each region, enterprise and workers to increasing general prosperity, we propose, in working out the strategy for the economic development of the Soviet Union, the adoption of a principle of regional, including republic, cost accounting.

10. In the aim of increasing the information reaching the public and for raising their political and economic culture, we consider it essential to publish regularly in the mass press data relating to all areas of our social and economic activities, with the exception of data the publishing of which would represent a direct threat to the state security of the nation.

11. We feel it essential to consistently carry out a policy of decentralizing the leadership of the cultural sphere both on the all-Union and republic levels. The functions and rights of the all-Union firms and organizations in the cultural area should be turned over to the republic departments.

12. On the basis of a statewide concept of education, we feel it essential to give all republics and regions of the nation the right independently to work out a unified regional educational policy in line with the specific socioeconomic conditions and historical traditions.

10272

Platform of Estonian 'Popular Front' Published
WA1800042 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 7 Jun 88 p 2

[Text of "Popular Front" platform published under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Citizen Initiative..."]

[Text] 1. The Popular Front is a democratic movement based on citizen initiative. Its primary goal is to realize the will of the people via elective soviet organs and public control of the activities of the most important organs and the state apparatus.

2. The creation of a Popular Front is motivated by the necessity of putting into motion a democratic mechanism for radical reforms in order to effectively promote the implementation of the CPSU policy of perestroika in economic, socio-political and cultural life, to jointly resist attempts by the bureaucracy to preserve and restore the forms of leadership of public life which were characteristic of Stalinism and the time of stagnation, and to fight against corruption and the abuse of power.

3. The Popular Front unites and coordinates the initiatives of various societies, clubs, labor collectives, and other groups for implementing the policy of perestroika, the battle against Stalinism and the administrative economic system. The Popular Front unites the inhabitants of Estonia of all nationalities. The socio-political platform for Popular Front activities is based on the problems expressed in the appeal to the 19th party conference adopted at the joint plenum of the leadership of the ESSR Creative Unions, and in the open letter to the governing organs of the ESSR. The economic platform of the Popular Front is based on the shift to full economic accountability in the Estonian SSR.

4. The slogans of the Popular Front are socialist democracy and pluralism, political and economic sovereignty of the union republics, cultural autonomy of all nationalities, the protection of civil rights, and the interests of working people.

5. The primary cells in the organizational structure of the Popular Front are support groups formed on the initiative of citizens at enterprises, in organizations, societies, cooperatives, associations, or place of residence. The activities of the support groups are coordinated by regional soviets of authorized representatives. The representatives are elected in the support groups by secret ballot.

To ensure that the representatives have direct contact with all members of the group, it is recommended that at large enterprises and organizations several small support groups be formed instead of one large one. The highest organ of the Popular Front is a general assembly of authorized representatives (national congress). The Popular Front would be led by a collegial organ (republic soviet of authorized representatives) elected at the congress.

6. The Popular Front is not subordinate to any other organization or body, and it does not determine the activity of organizations and associations attached to it beyond the general actions of the Popular Front and the goals and forms of its activity agreed upon in the organs of the Popular Front. The influence of the CPSU is ensured through democratic means by the political convictions of Communists participating in the Popular Front.

7. The basic goals and forms of activity of the Popular Front are the organization of cooperation between electors and deputies (meetings with deputies, inquiries, etc.); participation in election campaigns (nominating candidates, compiling mandates, etc.); presenting reports and submitting proposals to soviet organs; public discussion of resolutions and draft proposals; preparing referendums, etc. The Popular Front actively takes part in improving the electoral system, in transforming clubs of electors into constantly active public authorities. Representatives of the Popular Front take part in the work of electoral commissions.

8. A condition for participating in the activity of the Popular Front is the active and purposeful support of the CPSU policy of perestroika. The expression of conservative, Stalinist points of view and support of an administrative economic system are not compatible with the work of the Popular Front. Participation in the activities of the Popular Front is not limited by party membership, nationality or religious conviction.

9. Leadership posts in the Popular Front cannot be combined with important staff positions in the party, Komsomol, trade union or state apparatus.

10. The activity of the Popular Front and all its organs is public and takes place in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Estonian SSR.

11. The Popular Front considers it necessary to publish an information bulletin, "Bulletin of the Popular Front" ["Vestnik Narodnogo Fronta"], and establish its own publishing organ.

12. The Popular Front is a legal entity and has its own clearing account. The material resources of the Popular Front will come from the sales of publications and other items, and from voluntary contributions. The use of resources will be monitored by an auditing commission chosen at the national congress.

Estonian CC Buro Sets Forth Proposals for Republic's Conference Platform

18000494a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 11 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Main Proposals for the Platform of the Republic Party Organization for the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] *The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro presents for discussion by communists and all workers in the republic The Main Proposals for the Platform of the Republic Party Organization for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, received from the primary party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms, and individual communists via the mass media, and generalized giving due consideration to the opinion of those attending the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 9th Plenum.*

In publishing these proposals the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro suggests that the public in the republic express its opinion on these proposals, after which, on this basis the platform will be built for the republic party organization. It will be published in the press.

Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses in the party organizations and labor collectives shows that the workers fully share the proposition in the Theses that the aim of perestroika is to reveal fully the humane nature and creative power of socialism.

The course toward perestroika and toward acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is linked closely with the democratization of Soviet society and with affirmation of socialist self-management by the people, and with glasnost and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The workers note that the life of the state and of all the union republics should be realized on democratic bases, with the involvement of the broad public in the resolution of national problems. It is essential consistently to implement the Leninist principles of socialist statehood, make the process of democratization legislatively irreversible, and complete the formation of the socialist legal state.

It is emphasized that it is essential to rid ourselves irrevocably of everything associated with the consequences of personality cult, stagnation phenomena, command-administrative methods in management and bureaucracy, and the absence of Leninist norms in party and state life.

I. Further Improving Regional Management

In the development of party and government decisions to improve the activity of the republic management organs it is proposed to continue work to improve the economic mechanism and management in order significantly to expand regional economic self-management on a cost-accounting basis.

To introduce the following proposals to extend the rights of the union republics in the field of state management, planning and finances, and enhance their responsibility for the status and development of the national economy:

—many matters involving economic management should be transferred from all-union competence and from the joint competence of the USSR and union republics to the competence of the republics, having made appropriate changes to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. Thus, it is necessary to transfer to republic control basic questions concerned with defining the structure and activities of republic and local organs of state power and management, and also key leadership functions in the economies of the republics and the resolution of questions concerning the setting of prices and rates and wages and financial and credit policy within the limits of the assets earned by the republics.

At the same time it is proposed that the concept of state property be concretized, having established in the USSR Constitution that all the country's state property (with the exception of the defense sphere) consists of the state property of all the union republics, which are equal managers of this property on their own territories and meet their obligations to the all-union organs in the economic sphere according to agreements defining mutual relations between the two parties, on a cost-accounting basis.

—in order to insure more efficient management of the economy and the social sphere in the republics and to make more comprehensive and rational use of regional resources the competence of the all-union departments should be restricted on the territories of the republics. It is necessary to establish a specific mechanism to regulate mutual relations between the union republic councils of ministers and the all-union and union-republic ministries and departments, bearing in mind, in particular, the following:

—that there be a significant contraction of the range of questions subject to mandatory agreement by the union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments;

—that competence be redistributed between the central organs of the USSR and union republics in certain sectors of the national economy by transferring a number of economic functions of the all-union and union-republic ministries and departments in the corresponding regions to the control of the union republic councils of ministers so as to insure a decisive influence on and full responsibility for fulfillment of the Food Program and Housing Program, the production of consumer goods, and development in the services sphere in the republics. There should be a review of questions of improving the entire system of the USSR central management organs with a view to significantly reducing the number of all-union ministries and departments; while in the relations with enterprises of all-union subordination, most of them should be transferred to republic subordination;

—that legal guarantees be established for the union republic councils of ministers that prevent enforceable enactments issued by USSR ministries and departments from including mandatory prescriptions and instructions for the union republic councils of ministers;

—that a mechanism be established to bring influence to bear on USSR ministries and departments in the event of their failure to observe procedure laid down for agreeing their decisions that affect the national economy and population of the republics with the councils of ministers of the appropriate union republics.

The competence of the union republics should be significantly extended in the sphere of legislation. For the purpose of more flexible and varied legal regulation of matters concerning management of the economy and social sphere it is advisable to determine that only the establishment general principles of legislation should fall within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to strengthen the constitutional guarantees for the rights of the union republics Article 74 of the USSR Constitution should be augmented with a clause stating that in the event of discrepancy between all-union and republic law the all-union law shall prevail but that this rule does not extend to cases in which a law of the USSR or other enforceable enactment issued by an all-union organ infringes on the constitutional rights of a union republic.

At the same time it is necessary to lay down procedure for reviewing such disputes, making provision that when such contradictions are revealed, the final evaluation of the legality of the disputed USSR and republic enforceable enactments will be made by a constitutional court of the USSR under the USSR Supreme Soviet made up equally of representatives of all the union republics.

A special USSR law should be drawn up on Soviet federation, in which mutual relations between the union republics themselves and between the union republics

and the country's central organs would be regulated in detail, provision made for mutual rights and obligations in the resolution of questions concerning the management by the country and republics (including principles for determining the subordination of the various sectors of the national economy within the country and within the republics, the limits of legislative independence for the republics and so forth), and the status of the official language in the union republics defined.

A mechanism should be put in place to insure ecological balance in economic decisionmaking. The management system for the use of natural resources should be based on an economic mechanism and the regional approach. Effective planning and management in the sphere of the use of natural resources can be achieved only given the creation of an economic mechanism that makes it possible to combine the cost-accounting interests of economic cells with national goals in this field. Natural resources and the quality of the environment should be included in the system of economic relations.

Provision should be made for the introduction of payments for all natural resources and for pollutants ejected into the environment, and such payments should reflect the socially necessary costs of insuring the normative condition of the environment.

It is advisable to separate state environmental protection organs from the executive organs and subordinate them to the organs of soviet power. It is proposed that legislative activity concerning the utilization and protection of natural resources be transferred mainly to the competence of the republics so that more consideration can be given to regional interests, the level of development in production forces and the status of nature.

II. Democratization of Intraparty Life

The proposals note that in the light of perestroika the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society is being presented in a new way. This assumes further development of the basic principles of party building and improvements in the forms and methods of party work.

It is emphasized in particular that further development of the principle of democratic centralism is still being hampered by the preferential use of one of its components, namely, centralism. Accordingly, the discussion and debate on the various opinions and the adoption of decisions on the basis of this makes it possible to enhance the role of the democratic component of the main organizational principle in the building of the CPSU.

In party work (as in any other) today it is impossible to rely on rigid centralization. It is necessary to achieve a discipline that is conscious rather than deformed and centralized. The concepts of political leadership and political power should not be confused.

Delineation of the Functions of Party and State Organs and Economic Organizations and Using Political Methods To Strengthen Influence on Socioeconomic and Cultural Development

The proposals state that the main brake slowing the enhancement of the role of the party as society's political leader has become the fact that the party organizations take upon themselves the resolution of many economic questions, and that there is no clear-cut delineation of their functions and the functions of soviet, state and economic organs.

It is proposed that in fact all power be concentrated in the hands of the soviets of people's deputies and their responsibility enhanced for the resolution of economic and social questions on their own territories. It is important to insure real independence for enterprises in resolving economic questions strictly in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

It is noted that party organs must decisively move away from petty tutelage and deal directly with party-political work, whose main object of attention should be some specific person. The party organizations are called upon to influence the activity of the soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs through the communists working in them.

In the opinion of many communists the following issues should be raised at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference:

- party committees should focus attention on monitoring and analyzing the way in which both state and soviet and economic organs pursue the political line of the party in questions of economic, social and cultural development. To this end there should be a significant expansion of the practice of personal accountability reports from communists in leading positions about the fulfillment of decisions and directives issued by the party and government;
- the practice of adopting joint resolutions on strictly economic issues that duplicate at the local level the decrees adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers should be abandoned, as should the adoption of resolutions by party committees that contain direct instructions for state and economic organs and public organizations.

Extending the Rights and Independence of Republic, City and Rayon Party Organizations

It is proposed that at the 19th All-Union Party Conference a review be conducted of the question of the status of the central committees of the union republic communist parties (which are still mainly equated with party kraykoms and obkoms).

The opinion has been expressed that it is possible to set up a Consultative Council under the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to include the first secretaries of the union republic communist party central committees. It is proposed that cuts be made in the number of instructions "issued from above" to lower party organizations on the implementation of general measures and the discussion of decrees and materials. A determination should be made (or a special stipulation made) concerning which of the decrees issued by the party and its leading organs (congress materials, CPSU Central Committee plenums, CPSU Central Committee decrees on the republic party organization) that should be discussed everywhere on a mandatory basis, and which should simply be adopted for execution or for information and orientation.

In connection with the extension of the independence of enterprises and associations, the changes in and contraction of the functions of all-union ministries and departments, and work in the republic on an optimal structure for the management of the national economy, it is proposed that significant changes be made in the structure of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, abolishing sector departments and leaving the subdivisions that insure the work of the central committee as the elected organ of political leadership (economic analysis of the situation, work on political decisions, work with cadres, organizational backing for the fulfillment of decisions adopted).

Freeing up the apparatus of the party committees from the functions not peculiar to them, bringing their structures into line with the tasks of political leadership, and eliminating excess centralization in the resolution of these questions will, depending on specific local conditions, make it possible to free up some workers. In the opinion of many communists it is important to provide greater freedom for party committees to dispose both of the established wages fund and make savings in it. This will provide an opportunity, first, to establish differentiated wages as a function of a worker's professional training and the specific results of labor. Second, it will be possible to form various ad hoc working groups to work on a particular problem and to invite highly skilled experts to participate in their work. Third, using part of the savings from the wages fund to increase salaries for positions will make it possible to attract into the apparatus higher-level experts from the sphere of material production.

In order to extend the rights and independence of city and rayon party organizations it is proposed that at the next party congress changes be made to the CPSU Rules. In particular it is essential to provide a clear-cut formulation of when city and rayon party committees have the right to organize debate on questions of party policy on the basis of proposals from several party organizations.

Extending the Rights of Primary Party Organizations and Further Developing the Norms of Intraparty Life

The proposals emphasize that, proceeding from the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard, and from the

profound changes taking place in society, there should be a review of the activity of the primary party organizations, which are called on to play in full measure the role of political nucleus in the labor collectives. Here, they should not substitute for the labor collectives and their organs in resolving questions relating to the competence of the latter. The main criterion for strengthening the primary party organizations should be not the number of members and the measures implemented but the level of party influence in the labor collective and on all sections of it.

A review should be conducted and steps taken aimed at extending the rights of the primary party organizations.

It is proposed that the total number of meetings of communists in all primary party organizations should be at least 6 times annually.

The opinion is being expressed that at enterprises and organizations, party committees should be set up depending not on the number of party organizations but by giving due consideration to the total number of workers.

Numerous proposals and comments have also been made on questions concerning party membership, amounting essentially to the need to abandon mechanical regulation of growth and the social makeup of the party ranks.

It is particularly emphasized that at this stage in the development of our society, the attitude of the individual toward perestroika and personal participation in it are of great importance.

The following proposals are therefore made:

- to recommend to the next party congress that it strengthen the thesis that the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations resolve specific questions concerning the augmentation of the party ranks depending on the features of the collectives, giving due consideration to their social and national makeup and the actual requirements for fresh party forces;
- to give the primary party organizations where there are committees or buros, the right themselves to make final decisions on the question of the admission of candidates as members of the CPSU;
- to introduce just one procedure for the admission of candidates and members of the CPSU;
- to abandon written recommendations for those joining the party. Those making recommendations should confirm them using their own information from the questionnaire completed and signed by the party applicant;

- to give the primary party organizations the right as required to extend to 2 years the candidate stage for those joining the CPSU.

This would legitimize the extension of the candidate period in connection with transfer from one organization to another (because of sickness, or if claims are made against the candidate and so forth). The extension would be made with the permission of the party commission in the party gorkom or raykom, or a party committee with the rights of a raykom;

- to recommend to the CPSU congress that it strengthen in the CPSU Rules the provision on the mandatory nature of accountability reports from all party candidate members on their passage through the candidate stage at party meetings in their own organization;

- to make provision in the CPSU Rules for the possibility of leaving the party by personal application from persons who have telling reasons for so doing (because of extreme old age, irreversible deterioration of health) or from persons who have proved not to be up to the new level of requirements made on communists under the conditions of perestroika.

It is also proposed that the status of honorary member of the CPSU be introduced for communists who with the onset of extreme age or because of irreversibly deteriorating health are unable to participate permanently and actively in the work of the primary party organization but would like to remain in the party. This title would be awarded to people for vigorous party activeness who have seniority of 30 years or more, and they would pay only symbolic dues.

In some cases (for example, traffic accidents, production accidents, and other accidents and so forth) it is necessary to resolve the question of whether communists against whom criminal cases are brought should remain in the party.

In this connection proposals have been made to add to Paragraph 10 of the CPSU Rules, as follows: "In exceptional cases the primary party organization can decide to suspend the rights of a party member before the final ascertainment of his guilt under the law."

It is proposed that provision be made in the CPSU Rules for a clear-cut formulation of the status of the territorial primary party organizations and their rights and obligations.

Questions concerning members' party dues make up a separate group. They include opinions expressed on the need for the following:

- to introduce a single rate for members' dues and to lower the upper limit;

—to leave a specified proportion of members' dues at the disposal of the primary party organizations for current needs, and also to provide incentive for secretaries doing their work on a public basis.

The Growing Role of Elected Party Organs, Their Rights and Obligations and Their Relations with the Apparatus. Extending Glasnost in the Formation of These Organs

It is proposed that the CPSU Rules be amended with provisions insuring the democratization in practice of the processes whereby elected party organs are formed at all levels, in particular the following:

- to introduce direct voting by secret ballot for first leaders in party organs (from the party buro secretary in the primary party organization to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary);
- to set a maximum term for all elected party leaders, without exception;
- to set a single retirement age for all party leaders.

Broad support has been expressed for the proposals in the CPSU Central Committee Theses to revert to city and rayon accountability-and-election party conferences once every 5 years, and at the same time to introduce yearly accountability reports on their activities for the gorkom and raykom buros at plenums, and to make provision for the possibility of renewing the makeup of an elected organ by at least one-third during the period between conferences.

It is noted that a review is needed of the mechanism whereby the makeup of party committees is formed, and that it is essential to extend glasnost to this work, and the participation in it of communists from the primary party organizations from where election candidates are registered.

Doubt is cast on the existing practice by which all the leaders of ministries and departments and enterprises and farms are elected to elected party organs; this significantly narrows the social base for representation in them of categories such as teachers, medical workers, workers in the services sphere and transport, agricultural specialists, engineering and technical workers and junior scientists.

It is necessary to provide guarantees for renewal of the party and state apparatus at all levels in the form of strengthening these provisions in the CPSU Rules and in the legislation, including the Constitution.

It is proposed that as a rule elections for leaders in the party committees should be from two or more candidates, and that candidates should be given an opportunity before the elections to meet with communists in the primary party organizations.

The opinion is also being expressed that not only the status of a member of an elected party organ should be defined and sealed in the CPSU Rules but also a general provision on the elected party organs at various levels, identifying their goals and tasks and rights and obligations.

It is proposed that the work of elected party organs (central committees, gorkoms, raykoms) be organized on the principles of the activity of standing commissions for specific purposes: for example,

—organizational-party, ideological work, political leadership in economic activity, public organizations and so forth. These commissions should be led by the secretaries of the party committee, buro members or committee members. These commissions should not include workers in the apparatus, who will carry out executive work.

Members of elected organs who make up the standing commissions would be authorized to set tasks for the departments and exercise control over their fulfillment, make decisions and discuss which questions to bring up in the buro and at plenums.

One possible variant is to set up a control organ for the work of the apparatus, made up of members of elected organs.

Proposals have been made that party officials should be registered in the party organizations from where they were promoted. A procedure whereby members of elected party organs inform communists in their own primary party organizations about questions considered at plenums, decisions adopted, and the nature of the proposals they themselves put forward, should be established. They should render an account of their own work at least once every year.

It is proposed to extend the practice of accountability reports for the members of elected party organs at plenums and meetings of the buros about their own personal contribution to the fulfillment of adopted decisions. The members of elected party organs should inform the buro in cases in which decisions are being fulfilled without the proper persistence and where perestroika processes are being hampered.

The party aktiv is expressing the opinion that it is necessary to lower the normativ used to set the rates for secretaries freed up from party organizations, giving party gorkoms and raykoms the right themselves to transfer them as required to organizations in which they are specially needed.

Some communists propose that before appointing someone to work in the apparatus it would be useful to discuss the worker in the primary party organization at an open party meeting where he could be evaluated as a political leader and a determination made of whether he could be

a worker in the apparatus of the particular organ, and opinions could be expressed on his organizational capabilities and human qualities.

The opinion is being expressed that it is necessary for plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of the union republic communist party central committees, and the plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms be conducted publicly and openly, with publication in the press not only of the official reports but also the reports and texts of those speaking, and of the resolutions adopted.

III. Party Work under the Conditions of the New Ideological-Political Situation in Society

In the opinion of many communists, under present conditions the main tasks of party organizations' ideological work should be as follows:

- to shape a Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the new type in political and economic thinking, free from the distortions of the period of personality cult and stagnation and oriented on strengthening the sense of being master in one's own country, and on the constructive approach to any problem and free, creative thinking by each member of society;
- to create conditions for open discussion and comparison of ideas and interests;
- to mobilize people to solve the tasks of perestroika, namely, effecting radical economic reform and the democratization and humanization of our society in every possible way;
- it is emphasized that it is essential to conduct a substantial and well-considered review of the theoretical propositions of past decades and return to the Marxist-Leninist view on fundamental issues such as socialist statehood, democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, the sovereignty of the union republics, and social justice in distribution relations both at the level of the individual and collective and at the interrepublic level.

In order to resolve these tasks it is necessary to effect a fundamental reform in ideological work that should insure that its forms and methods are in line with the fundamentally new condition of society.

In this reform it is essential to be free from subjectivism and to achieve a more clear-cut attitude toward the processes taking place in society. Their timely recognition, investigation of the reasons for phenomena, and drawing up proposals with the help of experts and the realization of those proposals are possible only in an atmosphere of total glasnost.

Communists emphasize that the development of intraparty democracy assumes for each party committee and each party organization a need to reveal the real problems in specific conditions, and by proceeding from this to define the content of ideological activity.

In many letters and comments citizens note that at the present stage of perestroika, within the republic there are problems associated with the re-assessment of historical events, the role of various figures in history, the development of culture and national self-awareness, and the prospects for the further sovereign existence and development of the Estonian nation and its relationships with people of other nationalities living in the republic, resulting from the development of democracy and glasnost and the sharply growing politicization of all public life, and ecological questions, first and foremost those arising because of the irrational location of production forces, lagging in technical progress and the problems of regional republic cost accounting. It is proposed that all these things be taken into account when the platform for the republic party organization is drawn up.

The political line and the evaluation of new ideas should be worked out collectively, giving due consideration to public opinion as revealed by current sociological studies, and at meetings of communists and other public organizations and formations; and on specific issues by referendum. The collegial organs—the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the Komsomol Central Committee, the trade union council—should each make appropriate decisions on questions falling within their competence and on the basis of public opinion and consultation with experts, which through ideological means (first and foremost the mass media) should be explained and argued and brought to the public attention; and then, with help from the public, they should monitor execution of their own decisions and directives. When this is done, research conclusions and proposals put forward at meetings should be made public and commented upon by experts so that the public can be given an opportunity to assess how far to consider any proposals when decisions are made.

Many proposals have been put forward on the need to eliminate the contradiction inherent in the revolutionary nature of ideas and the evolutionary approach to their realization; which leads to leftist exaggeration in some initiators and conservatism in some executors, and to a gap between words and deeds.

The party organizations must be granted greater independence in defining the forms, means and methods of work, time periods and periodicity of measures connected with ideological activity. The main criterion of activeness in the efforts of a party organization to indoctrinate communists and all workers should be the re-orientation of public awareness to support the entire process of perestroika.

In order to improve ideological work it is advisable that the public in the country and the regions should be entrusted with studying anew the most complex questions in the history of the party (the "blank spots", national relations and other urgent problems, and provide new training manuals for the system of political and economic training.

Many proposals have noted that the main form of political training for communists should be independent work monitored periodically by the party organization.

In order to provide full and comprehensive information for the public it is proposed that materials be published in the press on the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium on preparations for and the resolution of the most important questions. It is essential to establish procedure for the election of editors and chief editors in press publications that are not organs of the party committees. The leaders of editorial offices for party publications should be elected only at congresses or plenums.

Inter-National Relations and the Development of Culture

Many of those making proposals believe that it is necessary to provide a clear and scientifically sound definition of the meaning of nationalism, national self-awareness and national pride. Theoretical definitions for these philosophical categories expressed in the party forum make it possible in practical work to define inter-national processes more precisely than at present.

Many proposals concern the question of migration process—an important one from the standpoint of the national and ethnic makeup of the republic. It is noted that the all-union ministries' and departments' disregard of local economic, ecological and sociocultural needs and interests is leading, under the conditions of the multinational state, to an exacerbation of national relations in general and to dissatisfaction on the part of the local population with activity of all-union organs in particular. Resolution of these issues is possible only through the joint efforts of local and all-union organs.

A second key problem is that of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian bilingualism. A number of proposals state that the all-union forum should outline practical ways to develop national languages.

In order to satisfy the cultural interests of all national groups living in the republic it is advisable to provide encouragement for their initiative in creating cultural centers that should become centers for propaganda of national Soviet culture and become yet another element linking the Estonian SSR with the other fraternal republics.

In the general context of the problem of the sovereignty of the union republics, questions associated with the need for decentralization in the existing system of international ties are being raised.

In particular, to provide a well-argued defense of the interests of the Soviet Union it is proposed that representatives of the Estonian SSR be given the opportunity to participate in international organizations engaged in dealing with questions concerning the Baltic region. In order to enhance the efficiency and economic interest of the Estonian SSR in developing foreign tourism it is advisable to make the existing system that provides services for tourists into a republic system.

It is also noted that it is essential to diversify the forms and methods of work with Estonians abroad. More extensive invitations to the republic should be extended to public and scientific figures of a realistic turn of mind, and also to businessmen from among Estonians living abroad. Open discussions should be conducted with reactionary emigre figures and the unsoundness of their positions should be convincingly and intelligibly shown.

IV. Restoring in Full the Role and Powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies As the Sovereign Organs of Popular Representation

Those offering proposals approve the CPSU Central Committee Theses on the real transfer of all power to the soviets. This assumes that both directly and through the organs that they create they should manage and organize the entire course of state, economic, and sociocultural development.

This can be realized in fact only on the condition of consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of the unity of legislation, management and control. Generalizing the proposals received on this question, the following can be distinguished:

—it is necessary to effect a radical change in the style of leadership of the soviets by the party. The party should implement its decisions through the communists elected to the soviets, within the framework of the USSR Constitution. The party should direct the activity of the soviets, not replace them;

—perestroika in the activity of the soviets is linked inseparably with improvement of the electoral system.

The idea is being expressed that it is necessary to make radical and immediate changes in the electoral system. Here, its most important provision should be democratization of the procedure for the nomination of candidates for the posts of deputy, abandonment of the principle of selection by questionnaire to elected state organs and the pro forma representation of social groups, the organization of debate and public defense by candidates of their programs, and the opportunity for real choice from among different candidates.

The multiple-mandate system of elections tested as an experiment has helped to reveal effective new forms for the work of the soviets but at the same time it has not made it possible to resolve very important issues such as enhancing the responsibility of deputies to the electorate or strengthening the links between them. Reserve deputies have not found their place, and guarantees for their activity as deputies still remain ill-considered.

—the idea is being voiced everywhere of the professional activity of the soviets, by which is meant reducing the number of deputies and freeing them up (first and foremost the deputies of the supreme soviets) for longer periods from production work so that they may fulfill their obligations as deputies, and establishing deputies in their positions by providing a guaranteed wage. The opinion is being expressed that change in the structure of the Supreme Soviet will help in guaranteeing permanent work in the soviet for all deputies. Here, it is proposed that a significant cut-back be made in the number of staff soviet workers. Unanimous support is being expressed for the CPSU Central Committee Theses proposition on the impossibility of electing as deputies workers in management orders subordinate to the soviets.

It is also proposed that significant changes be made in the structure of city and rayon soviets and their executive organs, proceeding from the urgent tasks in any given territory. Thus, for example, it is proposed that a representative of the soviet acting as a proxy for the population be appointed in each village. In addition, the question is being insistently raised of guaranteeing the material and financial independence of local soviets, and also extension of their competence on their own territory.

—it is obvious that there is an urgent need to introduce amendments and changes in the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Estonian SSR that would strengthen the concept of perestroyka.

The proposals attach great importance to constitutional guarantees for parity rights of the union republics in the formation of central management organs, and to significant expansion of the practical participation by union republics in the resolution of national economic and political questions and USSR representation abroad.

Perestroyka in the Activity of Public Organizations

Many of those offering proposals proceed from the CPSU Central Committee Theses that the political system of socialism cannot function in a full-blooded manner without relying on the extensive network of public organizations through which the interests of various social, professional and age groups among the country's population are expressed and realized.

In the processes of perestroyka an important place is assigned to the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives and other public organizations, scientific societies and creative unions, which should be restructured by thinking out their positions and roles anew and revealing more fully their possibilities under the new conditions.

It is noted that in order to realize in practice the principles of socialist democracy in the trade union movement the following are essential:

—making principled decisions on the status of the trade unions in the political system of our society. Here there must be more precise definitions of the functions of the trade unions and the forms by which they interact with the organs of state power and economic management. Party leadership should be effected only through communists working in the trade unions;

—it would be advisable to increase the representation of the trade unions in the organs of state power (particularly at the union-republic and all-union level) and to guarantee for trade unions the right of free nomination of their own deputies to the soviets;

—it is essential to take steps to decentralize the entire system of management, including for the trade unions. Territorial, intersector trade union organs (the trade union councils) should be given rights guaranteeing the influence of the trade unions in the management of the republic's affairs;

—in connection with the development of public self-management by the workers and the creation of the labor collectives' councils, it is advisable to regulate specifically the trade union functions associated with responsibility for the economic activity of the labor collectives. The efforts of the trade unions should be oriented primarily on development in the social sphere and on safeguarding the legitimate interests of trade union members.

It is necessary to extend the range of workers enjoying the right of protection by the trade unions. The existing lists of workers' duties for which trade union protection is unavailable are not in line with the principles of social justice.

—the trade union councils should be given the right independently to establish and develop ties with trade union centers abroad;

—support should be given to proposals from workers on mandatory preliminary broad debate, and when necessary referendums, when decisions are being made that affect the vital interests of workers and the entire population.

Many proposals deal with the Komsomol, and it is noted that perestroyka in its activities is proceeding slowly, and that this is largely explained by the habits of old methods

in resolving new tasks and inadequate political experience, and, in this connection, also boldness and persistence in resolving the tasks that arise.

At the same time another aspect of this question is noted, namely, the lack of definition for the role and place of the Komsomol as representative of the interests of the various youth strata within our society's political system. Hence also the excessively regulated nature of relations between the party and the Komsomol. The thought is being insistently expressed that the Komsomol should be freed of extreme tutelage, possess full independence in the resolution of youth questions, and operate under the ideological leadership of the CPSU and not be a carbon copy of the content, forms and methods of party work. Party leadership in the Komsomol should be exercised mainly through young communists working in the Komsomol. Taking into account the special features of the present nature of the youth movement, it is proposed that the status of the Komsomol be changed in such a way that it becomes a real youth organization.

Youth policy should become a special direction in the activity of the party and state. Proposals are being made concerning the need to adopt a youth law. It is also proposed that a state organ for youth affairs be set up that would implement youth social programs and coordinate work with youth through the ministries and departments, cooperating closely with youth organizations and movements when so doing.

It is a matter of some urgency to introduce amendments in the Constitution on the status of public organizations and other forms of civic initiative, and legal guarantees for their participation in the management of public and state affairs.

Public independent movements should have a clear-cut program defining the ways for participation by particular strata of society and the representatives of specific categories of the population in the realization of the political, economic and social program for the development of society. The communist party is called upon to exercise political leadership in all public movements and political, cooperative and other organizations formed on the basis of civic initiative.

Within the central committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and ministries and departments it would be possible to set up expert sponsoring groups that on the basis of study of problems and existing opportunities could prepare proposals for party and soviet organs on urgent questions. These groups could also become support groups within the framework of a democratic alliance of public forces.

We request that proposals and comments on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference be sent to the Estonian Communist Party

Central Committee or the Consultation Office at the following address: Tallinn, Sakala Street No 3, House of Political Enlightenment of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

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Fundamental Provisions of Estonian Conference Platform Published

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[Article "Fundamental Provisions of the Platform of the Delegation of the Republic Party Organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] As already reported, meetings of delegates from the Estonian SSR to the 19th All-Union Party Conference have been held. They discussed the fundamental provisions of the platform of the delegation of the republic party organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. A draft of the document is published below.

To approve the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. On the basis of them and considering the proposals received from republic party organizations, work collectives and working commissions created under the Estonian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the EoSSR Supreme Soviet and EoSSR Council of Ministers, and in an effort to contribute to the elaboration of decisions designed to effect radical reforms in all spheres of our life, to propose the following provisions for the discussion of the party conference in the name of the republic party organization:

I. In the area of economics:

—to secure the transition, starting with the 13th Five-Year Plan, to economic self-management and *khosraschet* that combine local and nationwide interests. To formulate a USSR law that would regulate in detail the interactions of union republics with one another and with the country's central bodies, that would make provision for mutual rights and obligations on matters relating to the government of the country and republics (including the principles governing the determination of the subordination of various branches of the national economy in the country and in republics, the limits of legislative independence of republics, etc.);

—the functions of economic management (with the exception of the defense sphere) should be transferred from all-union competence and from the joint competence of the USSR and union republics to the competence of republics. The resolution of problems relating to the establishment of prices, rates, wages, financial and credit policy within the limits of produced national income must be transferred to the charge of republics;

—to concretize the concept of state property in the USSR, to specify in the Constitution of the USSR that the country's state property (with the exception of the defense sphere) consists of the state property of all union republics that are the competent administrators of this property, of national income on their own territory and fulfill their obligations in the economic sphere to all-union bodies and other republics under contracts articulating interrelations of both sides on an equivalent and *khozaschet* basis.

II. In the area of ecology:

- to transfer rights relating to the use and conservation of natural resources to union republics. To closely coordinate regional economic development with a region's ecological situation;
- to devise specific measures in the area of land, water, forest, and other legislation with the aim of assigning rights to union republics in the area of environmental protection and natural resource utilization;
- to provide for the introduction of payments for the cost of all natural resources and sanctions for environmental pollution.

III. In the area of ethnic policy and interethnic relations:

- to devise and introduce an effective mechanism for guaranteeing the sovereign right of union republics. To restore the Leninist principles of socialist federalism as the basis of interrepublic and interethnic relations. To return to the Leninist idea of a union of equal sovereign republics enjoying the right to their citizenship and state language;
- to substantially raise the level of scientific interpretation and elaboration of interethnic processes, the development of socialist internationalism, Soviet patriotism and ethnic self-awareness, and the factors underlying such phenomena as nationalism and chauvinism;
- to create long-term republic programs for the development of ethnic processes and interethnic relations, the regulation of the demographic situation in the direction of increasing the share of the indigenous nationality. To take the formulation of these programs into account in the process of planning all socioeconomic measures;
- to attach paramount importance to the development of ethnic culture in union republics. To create necessary and equal conditions for satisfying the cultural needs of people of various nationalities living in these union republics;

- to raise the prestige of education in society. To secure the right of union republics, on the basis of general demands in the organization of education, to develop and implement the republics' own school curricula with due regard to local features, history, ethnic, and cultural traditions;
- to educate the population of a union republic in the spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism. To instill in all republic inhabitants a love of their native land regardless of their nationality.

In the area of democratization of state and public life:

- to condemn mass repressions of the period of the cult of personality (in Estonia in 1941 and 1949) as crimes against humanity;
- to restore the sovereignty of the Soviets of all levels on their territory. To draft a new election law;
- to declare the public referendum to be the highest form of expression of the will of the people. To develop a mechanism for holding referenda on the most important questions in the nation's sociopolitical and economic life;
- to create a commission for the revision of the existing Constitution of the USSR and for the formulation of an all-union contract as the fundamental document of the union of equal Soviet republics under the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet with the participation of representatives of all union and autonomous republics;
- to complete the formation of a socialist legal state. To develop effective public oversight over the activity of all law enforcement agencies, to secure total legal protection of the citizen and his rights in society;
- in the interest of the more flexible and diverse legal regulation of the management of the social sphere and natural resource utilization, to consider that the establishment of general principles of legislation to be within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the formulation and adoption of specific laws to be within the competence of the union republics. All-union laws must not contradict the Constitutions of the union republics;
- to establish that in the event of a discrepancy between all-union and republic legislation, the final evaluation of the legality of disputed normative acts of the USSR and a union republic could be made by a special USSR Constitutional Court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, which should include representatives of all union republics on a parity basis;
- to carry out judicial reform, to secure the legal protection of man in all stages of court proceedings;

- to continue to make statistical information public, bearing in mind that restrictions on the publication of statistical indicators should be permitted only for considerations of secrecy in the national defense sphere;
- to consider the growth of political activism of the working people and youth that is expressed in the forms of various movements in support of the development of socialism to be natural under the conditions of democratization of social life; to determine the status of social organizations and other forms of manifestation of civil initiative and legal guarantees of their participation in the formulation of political policy and in the management of public and state affairs. To secure their broader involvement in drafting and implementing important state decisions;
- to give union republics real possibilities to actively participate in international life, to have free association with foreign countries, to be represented in international organizations; where necessary to have their own representatives in neighboring countries and states in which there are numerous emigres (of the given nationality).

V. In the area of democratization of intraparty life:

- to create guarantees for the implementation of the party policy of perestroika, the development of and glasnost; to decisively free ourselves of everything associated with the consequences of the cult of personality, stagnation, bureaucratic-commanding methods of management, and with violations of Leninist norms of party and state life;
- to secure the real differentiation of functions between party, Soviet, and state organs. To exercise party influence on the activity of these organs through communists working in them;
- to expand the independence of all links in the party structure; to give them the possibility of developing their own tactics, the forms and methods of solving general party problems, of defining the structure and staffing schedule of the apparatus with due regard to local conditions, the specifics of organization, and the ideological situation;
- to raise the role of elected party organs, to secure the strict subordination of the party apparatus to them, and to reduce its size;
- to create favorable conditions within the party for discussing different opinions and points of view, especially in the formulation of long-range decisions;
- to propose the development of theoretical principles of party interrelations and political pluralism in society;

- to examine the question of the status of the central committee of union republics, defining its rights and obligations and the rights and obligations of its members.

Position of Georgian Conference Delegates Outlined

18000595 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
26 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Firm Support for Restructuring"]

[Text] Discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference has been completed. Everywhere the makeup of the delegates taking part in it has been determined. The conference will begin its proceedings on 28 June.

The broad democratic and principled discussion of the Theses furnishes the delegates with an immense amount of material for generalizations and conclusions. It is sufficient to say that 18,000 assemblies devoted to the conference were held in our republic. More than 900,000 workers took part in them, 372,000 party members, Komsomol members, and people not in the party took the floor, and there were 24,000 proposals, suggestions, and supplements to the programmatic principles contained in the Theses.

All forms of the agitation and propaganda effort were activated. The press, television, and radio have been vigorous and purposive, and—especially significant and indicative in the context of restructuring—people's initiative, boldness, and devotion to principle and the vigor of public opinion were manifested.

The course of preparation for the conference became an event that truly represented a stage, it demonstrated the sincere support for restructuring and the maturity of thought and interested participation of the absolute majority of party members and workers concerning the fate of restructuring, and it confirmed the truly vanguard and organizing role of the party in a stage that represents a turning point for the country.

The basic directions were worked out according to the results of the discussion; they also determine as a whole the position of the republic's delegation, which was approved in a meeting of the delegates from the republic party organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which was held 24 June.

The main conclusion, and this is confirmed by a study of public opinion, it was noted during the meeting, is that restructuring is not a campaign outlined by the framework of reconstructive measures, but a long-term and all-inclusive comprehensive process whose outcome depends on the level of people's civic activity and work activity in all spheres and at all levels of activity.

The large-scale shifts in the economic domain and in the national economy are being hindered by the contradictoriness of relations among the economic, planning, and management mechanisms, compounded by the bureaucratic methods of approaches and assessments.

The republic's party members and workers support the opinion which has formed as to the need to divide functions among the leading, policy-making, government, and executive bodies on a clear legal basis.

The organizing and guiding force in establishing the process of improvement of the political, government, and social system of society is and will continue in future to be the party, the initiator of revolutionary restructuring, the political authority, which needs to be strengthened above all by intensifying its vanguard role, the innovative approach to problems and to performing the tasks of the country's sociopolitical and socioeconomic development; by the level of democracy in the party itself; by an endeavor to operate through party members and to work with people, seeing that every collective fully performs its functions and exercises its democratic rights; by creating an atmosphere of openness, of discussions, of criticism and self-criticism, of collectivism, of comradeship, of respect for the individual, in so doing replacing neither the soviets, nor the trade unions, nor other government or public and voluntary organizations or institutions. This can be achieved above all by enhancing the role of primary party organizations, which are expected to have a direct influence on the work effort and social activity of the masses and on the degree of initiative of public entities, which are the direct producers of material, social, and intellectual property.

Democratization and glasnost and socialist pluralism, as mandatory conditions for achieving the irreversibility of restructuring, must be given a legal basis, including a constitutional foundation; any public activity conducted within the limits of the Constitution and not countering the interests of development of Soviet socialist society deserves to be recognized.

The appreciation and use of public opinion in the effort of party and Soviet authorities and the entire institution of management of the state, society, and the national economy must be founded solely on scientific sociology in the context of optimum recommendations adjusted on a scale of priorities. The point of departure here should be that discussions are fruitful only on a basis of socialism and in the name of socialism, and that they must not result in political confrontation and a scattering of the social forces.

The course of preparation for the conference and discussion of the Theses have revealed the contradiction between the pace of restructuring that is required in the economy and politics and the real shifts that have taken place toward eradicating stagnation in the economic mechanism, in involving the people to participate

authentically in matters concerning production, the social system and government, and in affirming everywhere the principles of socialist justice.

While the processes of the transition of production enterprises to the new methods of economic activity, self-financing, and self-support have taken shape favorably, especially in the republic, there still have been no real changes as yet in socioeconomic development as a whole. The following have been enumerated as the paramount practical tasks for the republic in that direction: closing the gap in working capital, nonpayment, and above-alliance inventories; stabilization of the activity of the republic's Minlegprom, Ministroymaterialov, Minmestprom, and Gosagroprom; unconditional fulfillment of contractual obligations and growth of profit; sharp improvement of matters in construction, trade, and the service sector; and relief of tension in the circulation of money.

It would be advisable to differentiate centralized planning so as to take into account specific features of a regional nature on the basis of requirements defined "from below." Decentralization opens up opportunities for the republics to make a real transition to cost accounting, i.e., a strengthening of their economic sovereignty.

It is deemed advisable to raise the question of assigning the functions of direct management of the socioeconomic sphere and the sphere of culture and enlightenment, including that portion conducted within the framework of international relations, directly to councils of ministers of union republics.

The measures enumerated above will generate a need for gradual radical review or elimination of the functions of a number of union-republic ministries, departments, and organizations, above all those for public education and culture and also the creative unions.

In order to establish trust in interethnic relations and to develop creative initiative and businesslike contacts, consideration was also given to the need to preclude centralized regulation of cultural processes, scientific research, and the working up of syllabi and publishing programs.

Exceptional judiciousness and extreme caution are indispensable when the mass media and above all the central press discuss interethnic relations, ethnic historical realities, the specifics of ethnic traditions, and the peculiarities of the character and culture of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. It would also be desirable to take steps toward more effective accomplishment of the constitutional status of the "official language" in the union and autonomous republics and in the study of the native language, history, and cultural legacy of the nationalities of the USSR.

A unified opinion of the party organization of Georgia has been worked out on problems related to completion of construction of a socialist state based on law as the functional and organizational form of political power that fully corresponds to socialist democracy and also on questions of the further development of the Soviet Federation, the key to which lies in an organic union of the independence of the union and autonomous republics and other ethnic formations with their responsibility for the state interests of the entire union.

Decentralization and maximum transfer of many managerial functions to the local level, unswerving enforcement of the provisions of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws guaranteeing the rights of the union republics and autonomous structures, and establishment of the standards of a state based on law require certain constitutional amendments, the working out of optimum corrections in the Basic Law of the USSR, which ought to be discussed by the entire people. The present practice of nationwide discussion of issues concerning broad public interest (the economy, ecology, law, demography, health care, etc.) needs to be used more actively.

Broad discussion of the Theses and the entire preparatory effort made in the republic have offered an opportunity to analyze exhaustively the directions and reference points they contain and to work out a common position of representatives of the Georgian party organization delegated to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

On 25 June the delegation of the Georgian Communist Party to the 19th All-Union Party Conference departed for Moscow.

07045

Latvian Writers' Union Addresses Conference
PM2206163 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
11 Jun 88 p 2

[Letter adopted unanimously on 2 June 1988 by participants in a plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union held in Riga 1-2 June: "To the 19th All-Union Party Conference"; footnote states that "an identical letter has also been sent to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev"—bold-face as published]

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

We, the participants in the plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union—with the participation of leaders of the republic's creative unions of architects, designers, journalists, cinematographers, composers, theater workers, and artists, and experts on problems of diverse aspects of the life of the Latvian SSR—address to the 19th all-union party conference our support for the spirit, thrust, and basic provisions of the CPSU Central

Committee Theses, and our support for the CPSU Central Committee's adopted course of the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, the broadening of democracy and glasnost, and the development of national statehood within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

For us, the most topical aspect of the restructuring and democratization of society and an indispensable condition of its successful development is the return to Lenin's concept of the free union of sovereign soviet republics and the complete, unconditional repudiation of Stalin's "autonomization" plan, which was realized in practice, implemented over a period of several decades, and whose mechanism has not ceased to function to this day. Its chief manifestation is the harsh and petty centralization of all material and cultural life, the ideal of which is complete uniformity without consideration for local and national features and interests, something which ultimately harms both the individual republics and the Soviet Union as a whole, and is equally ruinous for the economy and for culture.

Following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee efforts have been made to change the situation radically, but as yet the results are not only far from attaining their goal but are also not proportional to the energy expended.

We believe that in their exposition of the national question and the ways of resolving it the significance of national relations and problems are still underestimated in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, the mass media, and the speeches by state leaders. We draw your attention to the particular circumstance that such important, constitutional concepts as the republics' sovereignty and statehood, and also the question of a Constitution of the union republics find no reflection in the Theses. The replacement of the concepts with vague definitions arouses the alarm of Latvians and of other peoples of the USSR.

In this connection we deem it essential in the political sphere, given the full unity of the country's foreign and defense policies—a unity which must be guaranteed by the CPSU—to ensure the effective sovereignty of the republics in respect of their natural and social resources, whose utilization is permissible only with a republic's consent and on terms agreed with it. At the republic level this would represent "the restoration in full measure of the role and authority of the soviets of people's deputies as fully empowered organs of people's representation" proclaimed in the Theses.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities must be the coordinator of the Soviet peoples' national interests and the guarantor of the sovereign rights of the national state formations of the USSR's peoples.

In our opinion there could be great political significance in proclaiming the language of the indigenous nationality to be the state language of the republic. This would

become the legal basis for obligatory bilingualism in the national republics in all social institutes (state employees, health and service sphere workers, and others), which would in fact guarantee the lawful right of each inhabitant of indigenous nationality in his or her own republic to use the native tongue in contacts with any social institute and its representatives.

It is advisable to amplify the points of the Constitution (Article 33) concerning citizenship of the union republics by delineating citizens' rights and duties in relation to the USSR as a whole and in relation to the union republic.

Inasmuch as for the first time in its centuries-long history the Latvian people are, tragically, becoming a national minority on their own territory, it should be one of the priority political tasks of the Latvian Communist Party and the republic's government to acknowledge the task of the preservation and development of the Latvian people, their language and culture, and their historically formed material, moral, and spiritual values. A further decline in the proportion of the indigenous nationality should be regarded as an infringement of the rights of its national statehood and of the cultural-political prestige of the USSR as a whole.

We believe that the Government of the USSR must pursue an active policy and diplomacy designed to ensure that the republic's status would in fact permit the world community to recognize Latvia as a sovereign national state in the federation of Soviet republics and that, as a result, Latvia would be accepted as a member of the United Nations and UNESCO, of the Olympic committee, and of other international organizations.

At the same time, in each republic the representatives of nonindigenous nationalities should be granted the opportunity to set up their own national cultural societies and to teach their children their own language, national history, and culture.

In the economic sphere, a healthy foundation for inter-ethnic relations can be provided by preparing and carrying out in the next 5-year plan the transfer to full regional (republic) financial autonomy (*khozraschet*) and self-financing. An indispensable condition of this is the prior reform of the price-formation system in line with the law of value and the introduction of economically justified payment for natural resources, land in particular. In this way each republic's real contribution to the country's national income will become evident, each republic's responsibility to the others for the overall results of economic activity will be heightened, and the grounds for narrow-minded conjectures of the "who feeds whom" type will disappear. A republic's budget will not be allocated to it from the union budget but will be earned by the republic itself. The union budget will be formed from deductions from the republics' revenues in accordance with normatives formulated jointly for a specified period.

The diktat imposed by the all-union ministries and departments on soviet power at the given stage of the USSR's development has become a serious obstacle to the national republics' economic and sociocultural development. New, improved forms of combining social and regional interests should be sought, along with mechanisms for coordinating the republics' plans with all-union plans; the soviets' real power in the localities should be restored.

It is essential to establish the legislative prerequisites for the abolition of the essentially unlimited power of the all-union ministries and departments in running the economic life of the union republics (the Latvian SSR in particular); to broaden the rights and opportunities for the republics' harmonious development in order to create a real interest on the part of the republics' working people in the results of their own activity; and to resolve painful issues. Decisive measures considered at state level are needed to halt uncontrolled migration and the harmful effects on the demographic, cultural, and housing situation in the Latvian SSR conditioned by this migration. In many respects this situation should be deemed critical.

Up to now the Latvian SSR has been perceived as a territory on which it is advantageous to site efficient production capacities without consideration for the area's ecological features and cultural-historical type. The concept of the postwar development of industry in the republic was based on unilateral economic calculations which facilitated the unrestricted development of extensive technology and the moral and technical vulgarization of the industrial commodities being produced. The departmental egoism to which the republic's government has been unable to deliver a sufficiently effective rebuff has so exacerbated the ecological situation in Riga, Ventspils, Olaine, and Yurmala, and also in the Lielupe, Daugava, and Gauja river basins, that it threatens to become catastrophic. The lack of purification installations in Riga has harmed the Gulf of Riga to an extent which it will be difficult to counteract.

The policy being pursued has also inflicted, and continues to inflict, irreparable losses on Latvia's cultural development, on the social sphere of our life. Management by the "residual principle" has brought about a situation whereby the construction and maintenance of the republic's cultural facilities are completely unsatisfactory. All this arouses the profound concern of the republic's population.

The resolution of issues of the republics' sociocultural development within the confines of the budgets earned by them must become their sovereign right and exclusively internal affair.

In the educational sphere we deem it essential not to implant by directive the mechanical amalgamation of pupils in two-stream schools without prior sociopsychological investigation of their experience. In Latvia we

ought to organize colleges of marine fishing and militia colleges giving instruction in the Latvian language, thus guaranteeing local cadres for the republic.

There should be determined development of the union republics' direct bilateral and multilateral economic and cultural ties on a businesslike and permanent basis. Right now they are frequently of an episodic, ceremonial, or also purely formal nature. An important role in the development of cultural ties could be played by the establishment of a Central Television channel for the union republics, placed at the disposal of a council of republic representatives.

The successful development of national culture in modern conditions demands the radical broadening of the rights and capabilities of the republics and their foreign ministries in the field of international contacts in the cultural, scientific, and education spheres and information exchange.

Another range of issues. Taking into account the tragic consequences of the Stalin personality cult for all peoples of the USSR, and for the Latvian people and Latvian Communists included, we deem it essential for the party conference to give an unambiguous, uncompromising assessment of Stalin's repressions as a crime against humanity, the Soviet people, and the Communist Party; and for legal guarantees to be formulated in respect of the irreversibility of restructuring and the impossibility of a return to the tyranny of the personality cult epoch, to the willful bureaucratic methods of the Brezhnev epoch, which also inflicted damage on the economy, morality, and culture of our country which it is difficult to remedy.

We appeal for the abrogation of the 14 May 1941 and 29 January 1949 resolutions of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the USSR Council of People's Commissars on the administrative exile of certain groups of the population from the territories of the Soviet Baltic republics, west Belorussia, and west Ukraine, resolutions which served as the basis for far-reaching mass repressions and entailed numerous innocent victims. It is essential, together with this, to effect the rehabilitation of all the innocent victims of Stalinism and to perpetuate their memory.

We consider it advisable for the all-union party conference to take the decision to publish in the open press N.S. Khrushchev's report on the personality cult and its consequences delivered at a closed session of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956).

The rehabilitation of the undeservedly repressed victims of Stalinist policy organically includes public censure of the specific perpetrators and implementers of the repressions. These people should be deprived of their social privileges, honorary titles, and the right to be perpetuated in the names of cities, streets, educational establishments, and so forth.

We deem it essential to effect a decisive renewal of the party, state, and economic apparatus via the enlistment of the best officials on the basis of their competence, political experience, conformity to high moral criteria, integrity, and capacity for productive activity; and on the basis of regular replaceability and competitive appointments [provedeniye konkursov], with the abandonment of many nomenklatura-determined directives. It is necessary to intensify the influx of representatives of the young generation not only because a substantial section of leaders has become accustomed to the old way of thinking and is capable of joining in the restructuring process in words only but also in order to ensure the continuity of the restructuring policy. As a counterweight to the bureaucracy it is essential to strengthen the positions of the creative individual in the system of society's moral and political values.

We deem inadmissible and incompatible with the principles of glasnost that area of the local bureaucracy's ideological activity which endeavors to pass off the social and national discontent of broad social strata as resulting exclusively from foreign propaganda or as seeking the restoration of capitalism (the bourgeois republic), and fails to acknowledge economic, demographic, and ecological deformations as the basic cause of social and national discontent—not to mention the elimination of these deformations.

There are in the country and the republic forces which are depicting the exacerbation of national and social problems as a result of the restructuring policy, and which are attempting to exploit these problems in order to discredit restructuring and provoke a political reaction.

It is essential to restore and substantially enhance mutual trust between society and the representatives of power—substantially to enhance glasnost and the provision of information for the population, to publish stenographic records of soviet sessions and party plenum meetings, to formulate new laws on the press and glasnost, on radio and television, which would enshrine and develop the process now under way of the Soviet people's increased activeness in social and civic affairs. It is necessary to remove the obstacles to citizens' familiarization with archive materials with a view to the truthful interpretation of the history of our country and our own republic.

In the resolution of all strategically important tasks of restructuring the party can count on the full support of Soviet Latvia's creative intelligentsia, which is conscious of its duty and responsibility to its own people and to all of Soviet society.

We are convinced that the 19th all-union party conference will be an important stage in the development of a genuinely socialist society founded on the equality and friendship of the peoples and the humanism and all-around democratization of society, and that its results

will also facilitate the solution of Soviet Latvia's outstanding problems which demand immediate action to overcome the critical situation which has evolved.

Letter adopted unanimously by the plenum participants 2 June 1988 in Riga.

An identical letter has also been sent to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Main Conference Proposals of Latvian Communists, Workers Published

19000594 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
18 Jun 88 pp 1-3

["Main Proposals of Communists and Working People in the Republic to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, Received in the Course of the Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses"]

[Text] The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau submits the main proposals to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, received in the course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses. They have been summed up on the basis of proposals received from primary party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms, communists and nonparty people, through the "direct line" of the Central Committee, and the mass information media. They take into consideration the views of the participants in the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at which delegates to the conference were elected, and a number of constructive proposals submitted at the plenum of the board of the Latvian Writers' Union with the participation of heads of other creative associations.

This list includes many arguable and differing views which reflect different approaches taken to the solution of the difficult problems. However, they reveal sincere concern for the development of our Soviet socialist society.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau assumes, with the publication of this document, that public opinion in the republic will supplement and refine it. The proposals presented here will become the base of the work of our delegation at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

To a lesser extent, this material reflects proposals the solution of which is possible in the republic itself. They will be addressed for implementation to the respective party, soviet, economic, trade union, Komsomol and law enforcement authorities.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses became the culminating stage in the nationwide preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. At this stage party and nonparty members, young people, veterans and all categories of working people and the republic's population are displaying high level of sociopolitical

activeness, civic maturity and profound personal interest in the affairs of the party and the state, and the irreversibility of restructuring processes.

The organizational work conducted by the party committees and primary party organizations immediately after the CPSU Central Committee theses were published in the press was aimed at creating the necessary prerequisites and premises for the extensive and free manifestation of opinions, and the painstaking collection and strict consideration of all suggestions and remarks which have been received on the subject of the theses as a whole or their individual sections and stipulations.

The study and analysis of the suggestions lead to the following conclusions:

The republic's working people unconditionally approve and support the stipulation contained in the theses on the main objective of perestroika: the full identification of the humanistic nature and constructive power of socialism.

They express their satisfaction with the party's course of development of democracy and glasnost, self-government by the people, moral cleansing of society, revival of the Leninist principles and concepts of socialist statehood, and all-round development of the initiative and creativity of the broadest possible popular masses.

Many of the proposals underscore the urgent need for drafting nationwide political, legal and moral guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika; they formulate tasks and define ways of uncompromising opposition to efforts to restore conservative approaches in economic management and in sociopolitical and sociocultural life.

1. Surmounting the Negative Phenomena of the Past

The majority of participants in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses believe that we must irrevocably reject anything related to the consequences of the cult of personality, the stagnation phenomena, bureaucratism and violations of the Leninist standards of party and state life.

We must restore the Leninist concept of socialism and perfect it in accordance with the precise and comprehensive study of the historical past and the contemporary condition of Soviet society. This is particularly important in connection with the social requirement of surmounting dogmatic concepts about socialism, the over-assessment of individual stages and phenomena in domestic history and the role which various governmental and party leaders played in it.

It is necessary to develop an efficient scientific definition of perestroika and to present it as an integral and continuous, dynamic and comprehensive process and, on the basis of contemporary conditions, define more clearly the criteria of the socialist system.

We must pursue the profound and comprehensive study and objective interpretation of the most important stages in the history of the USSR and the Union republics and the establishment and development of multinational Soviet statehood. We must once again go over the most complex problems of party history. The writing of new textbooks and school aids on the history of the USSR and the CPSU for secondary and higher educational institutions, general education schools and the party-political and Komsomol education systems must be accelerated.

Taking into consideration the tragic consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality for all the peoples of the USSR, including the Latvian people, the conference must provide a principle-minded and considered evaluation of Stalin's repressive measures.

The conference must raise the question of formulating legal guarantees for the irreversibility of perestroika and the impossibility of a return to the cult of personality or to stagnation phenomena.

The rehabilitation of the innocent victims of the cult of Stalin's personality must be broadened through the public condemnation of the specific culprits and the agents of repressive measures.

Since during the period of the cult of personality the sons and daughters of all nations in the country suffered, the proposal must be formulated of erecting in Moscow a monument to all innocent victims of Stalin's punitive measures.

The party's political line and the assessment of the new ideas, bearing in mind their consistency with the present and long-term interests of society and its individual citizens, must be formulated under the conditions of socialist pluralism, based on the extensive study of public opinion, which must be determined through all available means, including a variety of well organized sociological studies.

It is important not only to make an extensive study of public opinion but also to introduce in the practice of sociopolitical life in the country regular information to the population concerning its results. Centers for the study of public opinion, staffed by professionally trained specialists, must be established in all parts of the country.

Extensive and comprehensive efficient long-term measures for the struggle against bureaucratism and the suppression of criticism must be formulated at the conference.

2. Upgrading Economic Efficiency and Improving Management

With a view to eliminating disproportions which have developed in the national economy, the location of production forces in the Union republics must be based above all on the comprehensive and proportional development of the national economy on the republics' territories, oriented toward their own labor resources and based on the economic expediency of procurements of raw materials and shipping products out. In solving such problems, the Union ministries must take into consideration not only national but also territorial interests.

It is important to strengthen the scientific substantiation of the plans, to which purpose pre-planning scientific studies must be made of the various choices of ways for the development of the national economy, involving more extensively experts and interested public circles in their discussion.

It is necessary to discuss problems related to the elimination of errors allowed in the past in the deployment of production forces. Ways must be earmarked for the accelerated development of industry in areas with surplus manpower and adequate raw material resources.

The following principle must be strictly observed in the development of intersectorial production facilities: the creation of such facilities must be considered justified only if the number of workers they employ is fewer than at enterprises in which intersectorial production takes over the production of commodities or the implementation of projects.

It is suggested, in developing the resolutions of the party and the government on improving the activities of republic management authorities, to accelerate the efforts to upgrade the efficiency of the economic mechanism and its management, with a view to ensuring the significant expansion of regional economic self-government on a cost accounting basis. To this effect, creatively developing the resolutions of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we must formulate within the framework of the Union national economic complex the concept of regional cost accounting. The economists in our republic, on whose initiative, starting with next year, relations between Union and republic budgets must be legalized, must make a substantial contribution to this project.

A number of economic management problems should be transferred from Union to republic jurisdiction, introducing this stipulation in Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. Thus, basic problems related to defining the structure and activities of republic and local state government and management authorities and key functions in managing the republic's economy, solving problems of

setting prices and labor rates and wages, and financial and credit policy within the limits of the funds earned by the republic, must be placed under republic management.

Bearing in mind the great importance of setting economic rates at enterprises in shaping financial resources on the respective territory, it is necessary for such rates for enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction to be set only after coordination with the councils of ministers of the respective republics.

In order to ensure the more efficient management of the republic economies and social areas and the more comprehensive and efficient utilization of regional resources, the competence of Union departments on republic territory must be limited. A specific mechanism must be formulated which would regulate relations between the councils of ministers of Union republics and Union and Union-republic ministries and departments.

The legal mechanism for influencing USSR ministries and departments which violate the established procedure for coordinating their decisions pertaining to the national economy and population of the republics with the councils of ministers of the respective Union republics must be defined.

The range of problems which must mandatorily be coordinated by the councils of ministers of Union republics and USSR ministries and departments must be substantially reduced. The degrees of responsibility of the central authorities of the USSR and the Union republics for some economic sectors must be revised and reapportioned by transferring many economic functions of Union and Union-republic ministries and departments in their respective areas to the councils of ministers of Union republics, in order to ensure their decisive influence and full responsibility for the implementation of the food and housing programs, the production of consumer goods and the development of services in the republics.

Problems related to improving the entire system of central management authorities of the USSR in terms of substantially reducing the number of all-Union ministries and departments and, in terms of enterprises under Union jurisdiction, transferring most of them under republic jurisdiction, should be considered.

Steps should be taken to oppose arbitrariness and diktat on the part of Union and Union-republic ministries and planning authorities in setting the amounts of state orders. The regulation on the material responsibility of the ministries to labor collectives for decisions and orders the implementation of which harms the enterprises must be drafted at a faster pace.

With a view to upgrading the interest of Union republics in increasing output, a more modern mechanism must be formulated for the allocation of food and durable goods produced on republic territory. The "residual principle" of setting aside goods for consumption within the Union republic must be reviewed.

Particular attention must be paid to the priority development of agriculture in the republic and the application in it of progressive ways and means of labor organization and achieving a drastic increase in food production.

It has also become necessary substantially to amend purchase prices of agricultural commodities. They must ensure the equivalent exchange of goods between agriculture and other sectors and depend more fully on the amount of labor outlays and the conditions prevailing in the individual areas.

In making decisions on the creation of new or expanding existing production facilities, the ecological situation on a given territory must be mandatorily assessed, including the possible consequences of the planned construction. It is necessary to create the type of economic mechanism in which environmental pollution will inevitably entail tangible economic consequences to the enterprise and the labor collective as a whole and to its individual executives.

The question of the further enhancement of the quality of labor and of goods, and upgrading its competitiveness and the prestige of Soviet products must be raised at the conference.

The Law on Quality, the need for which was expressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, could play a positive role in solving such problems.

3. Development of Science, Education and Culture

Bearing in mind that the development of education, public health and culture are among the most important party tasks, the conference must consider the possibility of drastically increasing budget appropriations for such purposes.

Steps must be earmarked to improve the mechanism for the application of new production developments, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the development of wasteless and ecologically clean technologies.

An efficient mechanism for social expert evaluation of scientific and technical projects on the all-Union, regional and departmental levels must be established. The possibility must be considered of establishing a nondepartmental inspection system which would control the sanitary condition of the environment and the quality of products.

The existing public education system has fallen greatly behind the requirements of socioeconomic practices and the spiritual area of human activities. Decisive and energetic efforts must be made by the party, the state and the entire people to create an integral modern state-social educational system. More efficient economic and legal instruments for the acceleration of the school reform are necessary.

It would be expedient to discuss the need for drafting republic curriculums on many subjects, which would take better into consideration the features, needs and traditions of a given area. Steps must be taken for the development of the humanities in public education and for molding active and comprehensively developed individuals by the schools.

It is necessary to accelerate the creation of the necessary material-technical, organizational, ideological and cadre conditions and prerequisites which will ensure the efficient shaping, development and realization of the variety of interests and needs and the profound and durable knowledge, skills and habits as well as the creative activeness of every individual.

Aware of the role with which engineers and economists play in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, steps must be taken to upgrade the quality of their training and to enhance the prestige of engineering work.

The state and the society must provide comprehensive moral and material support to ensure the full determination of the spiritual potential of each nation and ethnic group, the development of progressive trends and the promotion of a broad exchange of the best accomplishments of national cultures among the peoples of the USSR and between them and the rest of the world.

A proposal must be submitted on creating in Moscow cultural centers of all Union and autonomous republics.

The prospects and ways of development of the cultural autonomy of various ethnic groups within the Union republics must be substantiated on a scientific basis.

Ways for the further increase of material aid to young and large families must be considered. In this matter the experience of the socialist countries must be used more fully. Possibilities must be discussed for gradually shortening the working day for women with small children.

4. Intensification of Socialist Self-Government by the People

Legal and political steps must be contemplated to ensure the fuller implementation of the principle proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev: "More democracy and more socialism." The legal and political guarantees for the real participation of the broad toiling masses in the management of all governmental and social affairs must be secured.

The reform of the political system of Soviet society, the need for which is stated in the CPSU Central Committee theses, must be implemented in such a way as to exclude entirely any possible loopholes for violating the rights of the working people in the solution of governmental problems.

The electiveness of managers on all levels must be perfected and developed. All management personnel must be under the control of the people, so that their promotions may depend not exclusively on the opinion of the superior manager.

Specific and mandatory steps must be earmarked to increase glasnost in the work of party, soviet and law enforcement authorities and the necessary conditions must be provided enabling every person to have the possibility to evaluate their work on the basis of accurate and full information. A bilateral system for the dissemination of socially useful information downwards as well as upwards must be systematically created and improved.

In order to ensure the full and comprehensive informing of the population, it is proposed that the press publish more materials on the activities of the Politburo, the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers on preparations for and consideration and resolution of the most important problems of social and governmental life.

Speeches by Politburo and CPSU Central Committee members must be extensively publicized, so that the public may be familiar with the views of every leader of the party and the state on specific matters.

The further development of the democratization of all aspects of life in Soviet society, increased glasnost and intensifying its influence on the course of sociopolitical and sociocultural development of the country must be systematically combined with strengthening order and organization and conscious socialist labor discipline.

Ways and means of improving the training of various groups of working people for participation in the administration of the state must be earmarked.

Proposals on perfecting the electoral system deserves support. The multiple-mandate electoral system, which was experimentally tried, must be developed further. Greater thought should be given to ways of involving reserve deputies in active work in the soviets and enhancing their status.

Procedures for the nomination for deputies, the organization of discussions and the public defense of the candidates' programs must be democratized further. Comprehensive possibilities of choosing among different candidates must be provided.

Ways must be discussed for the further develop of self-government in labor, school and university student collectives on a legal and methodological basis.

Reliable legal guarantees must be provided for the implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) by all ministries and departments.

Steps must be formulated to upgrade the political standards of the working people. More efficient procedures must be drafted for holding debates, meetings and demonstrations. Social demagoguery must be firmly opposed.

5. Democratization of Intraparty Life

About one-half of all the proposals, remarks and refinements which were received are related to the thesis on the role of the CPSU in Soviet social life. In particular, it is pointed out that in the light of perestroika the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force appears in a new fashion. This presumes the further development of the basic principles of party construction and perfecting the ways and means of party work from top to bottom.

It is emphasized that the further development of the party and of the democratization of its activities are hindered by the primary use, so far, of one of the components of the leading principle in the organizational structure of the CPSU, such as democratic centralism and, more precisely, centralism. Today party work must not rely exclusively on strict centralization. Conscious discipline must be promoted, based on communist convictions and not on directives issued by superiors.

Debates, and the extensive discussion of different opinions and, on this basis, decision making enable us to enhance the role of the democratic component of the leading principle in CPSU structure. At the same time, we must most clearly define the procedure for the annulment of decisions improperly issued by party committees.

The number of instructions "issued from above" to the primary party organizations on the implementation of general measures and the discussion of decrees and other materials, should be reduced. In this connection, it should be determined (or especially stipulated) which party resolutions or resolutions issued by its leading authorities should be discussed comprehensively on a mandatory basis (materials of congresses, CPSU Central Committee Plenums and CPSU Central Committee resolutions concerning a republic party organization), and which should simply be accepted for implementation or for information and guidance.

According to the proposals, the main hindrance to enhancing the role of the party as the political leader of society is the fact that the party organizations assume the

solution of a number of economic problems. There is no clear demarcation between their functions and those of soviet, state and economic authorities.

It is suggested that the full power be concentrated in the hands of the soviets of people's deputies, enhancing their responsibility for the solution of economic and social problems on their territory. It is important to ensure the true autonomy of enterprises in solving economic problems, strictly in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

It is pointed out that the party authorities must firmly abandon petty supervision. They must deal strictly with party-political work, the main target of which is the specific individual. The party agencies and organizations must influence the activities of soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic authorities through the party members working in them.

The practice of adopting joint decrees on strictly economic problems, duplicating in the local areas decrees adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and the adoption by party committees of resolutions which issue direct instructions to state and economic authorities and public organizations must be firmly abandoned.

In connection with the expansion of the autonomy of enterprises and associations, changes and reduction in the functions of ministries and departments and the formulation within the republics of optimal structures for economic management, the proposals call for substantially changing the structure of the apparatus of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, closing down sectorial departments and replacing them with subdivisions which can entirely ensure the work of the Central Committee as the elected agency for political leadership (economic study of situations, formulation of political decisions, work with cadres, ideological work, and organizational support for the implementation of adopted resolutions).

Relieving the party committees of extraneous functions, making their structures consistent with the tasks of political management and eliminating excessive centralization in the solution of such problems would make it possible to release some of the personnel, based on specific local conditions.

Many party members have suggested that the question of the status of the central committees of communist parties of Union republics (for the time being they are essentially equated to party kraykoms and obkoms) be considered at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The view has been expressed of the possibility of setting up a consultative council under the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which would include the first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of Union republics.

In order to broaden the autonomy of city and rayon party organizations, it has been proposed that changes be made in the CPSU statutes at the forthcoming party congress. In particular, it must be clearly established whether or not city and rayon party committees have the right to hold debates on problems of party policy on the basis of suggestions formulated by several party organizations.

The principles governing the party's guidance of mass information media must be more clearly established and codified in the Law on the Press.

It is the view of many party members that it is important to grant the party committees greater freedom in handling and economizing on the established wage fund. To begin with, this would make it possible to set differentiated wages, based on the level of professional training of the worker and the specific results of his labor. Second, it would make possible to organize various task forces which would have the necessary qualifications for working on a given problem and to ask specialists to participate in such task forces. Third, the use of some of the savings on the wage fund could be used to upgrade the salaries of personnel and make it possible to attract within the apparatus better qualified specialists now employed in material production.

The proposals emphasize that, based on the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard and the profound changes occurring in the society, the activities of the primary party organizations must be restructured. Their rights must be expanded and their autonomy increased. It is suggested that all primary party organizations hold the same number of meetings by party members, no less than six annually.

The main criterion in strengthening the primary party organizations should be not the number of members or of implemented projects but the level of party influence in the labor collective, in all its sectors.

Numerous proposals and remarks have been expressed on matters of party membership, the essence of which is the need to abandon the automatic regulation of the growth and social structure of party ranks. In this case, it is particularly emphasized that at the present stage of development of our society the most important feature is the attitude of an individual toward perestroika and his personal participation in it. To this effect, the following is proposed:

—codifying at the conference the thesis to the effect that party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations solve specific problems of reinforcement of party ranks depending on the features of the collective, its social and ethnic structure and the actual need for fresh party forces;

—grant the primary party organizations, if necessary, the right to extend the candidacy stage of new CPSU members to 2 years;

—stipulate in the party statutes the possibility of allowing individuals to leave the party on the basis of a personal request and for valid reasons (old age or irreversible worsening of their health), or else on the part of individuals who have been unable to meet the new standards of requirements applicable to party members under the conditions of perestroika;

—introduce the status of honorary CPSU member for party members who, with the advent of old age or a drastic worsening of their health, are unable to participate on a permanent and active basis in the work of the primary party organizations but who, nonetheless, would like to remain within the party. This title must be awarded for active party work to people with a party seniority of 30 or more years and the payment of symbolic dues must be instituted in their case.

A detailed study must be made of proposals on how to solve the question of party membership of individuals indicted in criminal matters for involvement in traffic accidents, breakdowns and industrial accidents. Such proposals call for adding the following text to Paragraph 10 of the CPSU statutes: "In exceptional cases the primary party organization can pass a resolution on temporarily depriving a party member of his rights until his culpability in the eyes of the law has been definitively established."

Practical proposals have been made to improve the procedure for the assessment of membership dues. In particular, views have been expressed on the need to apply a uniform percentage for membership dues and to lower their upper limit; a certain share of membership dues should be left at the disposal of the primary party organizations to meet current needs and for bonuses to secretaries holding this position as a voluntary social obligation.

In discussing the CPSU Central Committee theses great attention is being paid to problems related to the establishment of elected party authorities on all levels. The need is emphasized of adding to the CPSU bylaws stipulations which would ensure the practical democratization of this aspect of intraparty life.

In particular, it is suggested to this effect to introduce a system of direct elections by secret vote of the heads of party agencies (from party bureau secretaries of primary party organizations to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary), and to establish maximal terms for holding an elective position by all party leaders without exception and set a single retirement age for all party leaders.

The proposal of returning to the system of holding accountability and election city and rayon party conferences once every 5 years, while introducing the practice of annual reports submitted by raykom and gorkom buros to party committee plenums on their activities, stipulated in the theses, is widely supported; the possibility of renovating the membership of the elected authority by no less than one-third in the period between conferences should be considered.

The mechanism for the constitution of party committees should be reviewed. Glasnost in this area must be increased and the participation within it of the party members in primary party organizations with which the candidate for elections is registered should be practically secured.

Since party conferences will become increasingly part of the practices of party life it is necessary to formulate a more efficient democratic procedure for determining their participants and for the discussion of problems submitted for consideration at the conference. This would enable us to avoid unjustified claims addressed to party committees.

A number of party members question the tradition according to which most managers of ministries and departments, enterprises and farms are made members of elected party bodies, which significantly narrows the social base of the representation of other categories of workers in such bodies.

It is necessary to introduce in the practice of intraparty life the election of managers of party committees selected among two or more candidates, offering the candidates the possibility to meet with the members of the primary party organizations and to present their program for action before the elections.

It would be expedient to draft and codify in the CPSU statutes not only the status of the member of an elected party agency but, as a whole, the status of the elected party authorities on different levels and to indicate their objectives, tasks, rights and obligations.

Numerous suggestions have been expressed calling for the senior personnel of the party committee apparatus (from the raykom and gorkom to the central committee of the communist party of a Union republic) to be members of primary party organizations of the labor collectives from which they were nominated to party work.

A procedure should be established according to which the members of elected party authorities must report to the primary party organizations and labor collectives on their work no less than once annually.

The republic party activists believe in the need to lower the rate of releasing secretaries of party organizations. The party raykoms and gorkoms should be given the right to assign such secretaries, if necessary, to organizations which particularly need them.

Party committees should be set up at enterprises and organizations based not on the number of party members but the overall number of employed people. The possibility must be considered of paying to full-time party committee secretaries wages equal to those paid to economic managers of respective labor collectives.

In the view of many party members, the main tasks of party ideological work under contemporary conditions should be the following:

- developing a new type of outlook free from the distortions of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation, and a new type of political and economic way of thinking, oriented toward the development and strengthening of the feeling of ownership of one's republic and country, developing a constructive approach to any problem, and a free creative attitude toward the affairs of the labor collective, the region and the country;
- creating conditions for open discussion and comparison among ideas and interests;
- ensuring the considered reassessment of the theoretical concepts of recent decades and a return to the Marxist-Leninist concept on essential problems, such as the socialist state, democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, sovereignty of Union republics, social justice in distribution relations, both on the individual and collective as well as the interrepublic level;
- mobilizing the people for solving topical problems of perestroika; engaging in a radical economic reform and promoting the comprehensive democratization and humanizing of our society.

The implementation of these tasks calls for a thorough restructuring of all party ideological work, such as to ensure a consistency between its forms and methods and the essentially new status of the society.

It is necessary to abandon subjectivism and develop a more responsive attitude toward processes occurring in the society. Specialists must become extensively involved in promoting the awareness of such processes, studying the reasons for phenomena and formulating realistic views. An atmosphere of total openness must be created.

The reorientation of social awareness toward supporting through action the entire process of perestroika must become the main criterion of the efficiency of the efforts of the party organization in the upbringing of party members and all working people.

6. Enhancing the Role and Authority of the Soviets

The party members and the working people of the republic approve the CPSU Central Committee thesis on the real transfer of the full power to the soviets of people's deputies. This presumes that it is precisely the soviets which, directly or through the agencies they set up, should direct, organize and implement all state, economic and sociocultural building.

The party must change its style of leadership of the soviets. The party must implement its resolutions and policies through the party members elected to the soviets. The party must direct the activities of the soviets but in no case substitute for them.

The functions of soviet, party and economic authorities in the area of solving socioeconomic problems must be clearly demarcated legislatively. In order for the soviets to exercise full power, it would be expedient to set up sectorial departments and to include within the apparatus of executive committees structural subdivisions in charge of the comprehensive economic and social development of the territories.

It is necessary to review the ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the basic rights and obligations of soviets of people's deputies of rayon, city, urban rayon, settlement and rural soviets. Such ukases, which were adopted in 1968 and 1971, were redrafted in 1978 but today do not ensure the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums on problems of upgrading the role of the soviets in socioeconomic development. Whereas the independence of enterprises is truly guaranteed with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the principle of territorial management and the rights and obligations in this connection of the soviets of people's deputies are not clearly regulated in the legislation. That requires the passing of a USSR law on the soviet of people's deputies.

The legislation should define more clearly the decisive role and interaction between soviets of people's deputies and enterprises in the course of drafting and coordinating plans for economic and social development. Article 10 of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) lists a set of problems on which the enterprise must coordinate the draft plan with the executive committee. However, there are no legal guarantees which would ensure the mandatory consideration by enterprises of the interests of the social development of the territory and the views of the executive committee on such matters.

It is also necessary to regulate problems of making use of the capacities of construction organizations outside the territory under the jurisdiction of a given soviet and relations between local soviets and branches or shops located on the territory of the given soviet which, so far, make no withholdings whatsoever for the local budgets.

The laws should stipulate economic penalties for nonfulfillment or improper implementation of obligations by enterprises for the production of consumer goods and for providing paid services to the population.

Long-term stable rates of withholdings from enterprises and cooperatives for the budget of the soviet, which would include payments for the use of water, land and other resources, must be established.

With a view to strengthening the role of the soviets, it is necessary legislatively to stipulate the participation of executive committees in assessing the results of economic activities of enterprises and associations.

It would be expedient to introduce substantiated rates for determining the size of the executive committees and the salaries of their personnel, depending on the volume of work, taking into consideration the size of the population, the existence of enterprises, organizations and farms on the territory of the given soviet and other individual characteristics of the rayon or city. The executive committees must be given the right independently to establish their own structures and tables of organization within the limits of their overall wage fund.

The rights of the local Soviets must be expanded in the solution of all problems related to their territory. They must be ensured financial independence and the rights and responsibilities of the deputies must be increased.

It must be legislatively stipulated that without the permission of the respective soviet of people's deputies no activities which could change the economic, ecological or demographic situation of a given territory could take place.

The solution of such problems legislatively would contribute to accelerating the conversion of the local soviets to full cost accounting and the dependence of their activities on the end results of the work of enterprises located on their territory.

The restructuring of soviet activities should be closely related to improvements in the electoral system.

The electoral system must be subject to urgent and radical change. Maximal democratization of the procedures for the nomination of candidates for deputies, rejection of the principle of selection of candidates for holding elective state positions on the basis of investigations must be abandoned and the possibility of choosing among different candidates must be guaranteed.

A new law on elections to soviets of people's deputies must be drafted in order to ensure the legal codification of these stipulations.

It is necessary to restore the practice of holding congresses of soviets of people's deputies and make the USSR Supreme Soviet a permanent body with deputies who would be relieved of any other obligation. The number of such deputies should be reduced by a factor of two or three.

It must be stipulated that ministers and personnel of the apparatus of the Council of Ministers or of executive committees may not be deputies. They must obey the will of the soviets and be accountable to them.

7. Improving Relations Among Nationalities

In the view of many party members it has become necessary to create a new overall concept governing the development of relations among nationalities in the country and the formulation of a long-term comprehensive program for the solution of problems which have accumulated.

The former one-sided positive assessment of the results of the implementation of the party's national policy during different periods of Soviet history must be changed. The Stalinist distortions of the Leninist principles of a Soviet federation must be voiced more clearly and precisely.

The Leninist concept of guiding the development of national relations under socialism must be implemented in full. The deformations which appeared under the influence of strict centralization and petty regulation by central departments of the material and cultural life of national republics must be eliminated.

The efforts of Union ministries to present their departmental interests as the interests of the state must not be tolerated and nor should their custom of developing production facilities while ignoring the interests of the local population.

In order to prevent such phenomena from appearing, it is necessary to draft for the councils of ministers of Union republics legal guarantees which would prevent including in the regulations issued by USSR ministries and departments mandatory stipulations and instructions issued to the councils of ministers of Union republics.

At the same time, the concept of state ownership must be concretized; the USSR Constitution must stipulate that the entire state ownership of the country (with the exception of defense) consists of state ownership by all Union republics, which are full-powered managers of this property on their territories and which carry out their obligations in the economic area pertaining to the Union authorities on the basis of contracts which determine relations between both sides, on a cost accounting basis.

A mechanism must be set for influencing USSR ministries and departments which fail to observe the stipulated procedure for coordinating their decisions which affect the national economy and population of a republic with the councils of ministers of the respective Union republic.

Many proposals pertain to the problem of migration processes, which is important from the viewpoint of the national and ethnic composition of the republics. It is pointed out that the fact that Union ministries and departments ignore local economic, ecological and socio-cultural needs and interests leads, under the conditions of a multinational state, to the aggravation of national relations as a whole and to the dissatisfaction on the part of the local population with the activities of Union authorities in particular. The solution of such problems is possible only through the joint efforts of local and Union authorities, on the basis of properly considered programs for action.

In this connection, the party members and the working people of the republic suggest a faster formulation of resolutions by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and Latvian Republic Central Council of Trade Unions of measures to control the mechanical increase of the republic's population.

The USSR Council of Nationalities must become the true spokesman for the national interest of all peoples of the USSR and a guarantor that the sovereign rights of their national statehood will be observed.

One of the main functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities must be that of providing governmental protection of the interests of the republic in the face of the sway held by the central departments. To this effect it must set up respective commissions and deputy groups. It would make sense also to consider the possibility of setting up a working authority similar to the former people's commissariat for nationalities affairs.

Proposals on creating a special Institute of the Peoples of the USSR by the Academy of Sciences and resuming the publication of the all-Union journal ZHIZN NARODOV SSSR, and opening a special channel by the Central Television, which would describe life in the fraternal Soviet republics, are worthy of approval.

We must accelerate new updated drafts on problems of Leninist national policy.

The authors of many proposals believe that a clear scientific substance should be given to the definitions of nationalism, national self-awareness and national pride.

The theoretical definitions of these philosophical categories, voiced at the party forum, would make it possible, in the course of practical work, to define more accurately the processes currently taking place in relations among nationalities.

Providing conditions for the free development of all nations and ethnic groups in the USSR, protecting and developing national cultures and languages, and ensuring their use in all social institutions on the territory of a given nation or ethnic group must become an object of constant concern on the part of the party and the state.

A number of practical proposals have been submitted on the further development of Latvian-Russian bilingualism. Many problems are at issue in such matters. The republic's party members believe that the all-Union party forum should earmark practical ways for the further development of national languages, based on the stipulations of the Leninist national policy.

8. Strengthening the Legal Foundations in the State

The party members and working people in the republic unanimously support the stipulations included in the CPSU Central Committee theses on the pressing need to complete the creation of a socialist state based on the law as a form of organization and functioning of the political system, entirely consistent with socialism and socialist democracy.

Taking into consideration the tragic pages in domestic history, when the slandering of innocent citizens in the country made them victims of scandalous violations of legality and cases of unfair treatment of people to this day, it is necessarily maximally to accelerate the creation of a mechanism for the social and legal protection of the individual in dealing with the state and its power institutions. The real responsibility of the state to the citizens of the country must be ensured in practical terms.

Under the conditions of democracy and glasnost it is necessary to ensure the establishment of material and legal prerequisites for the exercise of citizens' constitutional rights: the freedom of speech, press, assembly, meetings, street marches and demonstrations and conscience.

The Leninist principles of state life must be restored. The party and the state must increase their efforts to uproot distortions and deformations created by authoritarian management methods and firmly block efforts at reviving the former approaches.

It would make sense to draft a special USSR law on the Soviet federation, which would regulate in detail relations among union republics and between them and the central authorities in the country and would stipulate reciprocal rights and obligations in solving problems of administering the country and the republics (including

the principles of defining the subordination of the various economic sectors in the country and the republics, the limits of the legislative autonomy of republics, etc.), and codify the status of the language of clerical work in Union republics.

The range of competence of Union republics in the legislative area must be significantly broadened. It would be expedient, with a view to ensuring the more flexible and varied legal regulation of problems of economic management and management of the social area, based on local conditions, to stipulate that the formulation exclusively of the general principles of legislation is the prerogative of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to strengthen the constitutional guarantees of the rights of Union republics, Article 74 of the USSR Constitution should be expanded with the proposal according to which in differences between Union and republic legislation the Union legislation would prevail; however, such a right would not apply in cases in which the Law on the USSR or any legal act issued by a Union authority harms the constitutional rights of a Union republic.

At the same time, it is necessary to formulate a procedure for the consideration of such disputes and contemplate the establishment of a special constitutional court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, consisting of representatives of all Union republics, which would determine whether USSR laws and other legal acts issued by Union administrative authorities violate the constitutional rights of fraternal Soviet republics.

Soviet legislation should regulate only the basic concepts which must be identically resolved throughout the country's territory, while all other problems should be solved by Union republics in accordance with territorial, national and other characteristics.

It is necessary to formulate, for all articles of the country's constitution and the constitutions of the republics respective laws which would regulate the exercise of the rights and obligations proclaimed in said articles.

In the course of the planned major legal reform, the drafting of USSR laws on glasnost and the press must be accelerated. Such laws must clearly define the rights and obligations of the mass information media and officials on all levels and the responsibility of editors for the content and ideological trend of materials published.

The further expansion and intensification of democracy also requires a firm elimination of ignorance of the law not only among leading personnel but also rank and file working people. The people must know their rights and obligations. They must know the way in which they can be exercised today, within the limits of the existing legislation.

In the past as well legal nihilism caused a great deal of difficulty, which makes it today even less tolerable. It would be expedient, starting with the next school year, to organize the universal legal training of the population in the country and the republic.

9. Restructuring the Activities of Public Organizations

Many of the proposals emphasize the thought that the socialist political system cannot function fully without relying on a wide network of public organizations, through which the interests of the different social, professional and age groups of the country's population are expressed and implemented.

It would be expedient, in order to ensure the further development of the system of public organizations, to pass a law on public organizations, which would reflect the basic principles governing the creation, objectives and tasks of such organizations and their legal status, and would define the range of problems which the state authorities can solve only with the participation of public organizations. In this connection a legal regulation must be issued on the creation and activities of agencies functioning on a voluntary basis.

It is suggested to define clearly (through legislation) the place of informal social associations within the political system of Soviet society and the principles governing their establishment and functioning.

A number of comrades consider possible granting executive committees of rayon and city (cities under republic administration) soviets of people's deputies, taking into consideration the views of local party authorities and interested organizations, the right independently to determine the need for creating or abolishing commissions, councils and other agencies of public activities by citizens.

The trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives and other public organizations, scientific associations and creative unions must play a more significant role in restructuring processes; they must restructure themselves and reinterpret their status and role and identify better their possibilities under the new conditions.

A new impetus must be given to the activities of the trade unions. Basic decisions must be made on the status of the trade unions in the political system of our society. The functions of trade unions and the forms of their relations with state authorities and economic managements and labor collective councils must be defined more clearly. Party leadership must be exercised only through the party members working in the trade unions.

In the view of many party members it would be expedient to enhance the representation of trade unions in the state authorities (particularly on the level of Union republics and the country at large), and to guarantee the trade unions the right freely to nominate their deputies to the soviets.

It is necessary to broaden the range of personnel who have the right to have their rights and interests defended by the trade unions. The list of jobs the holders of which are deprived of trade union protection is inconsistent with the principles of social justice.

Perfecting youth policy must become a major trend in the activities of the party and the state. Work on the drafting of a law on the youth must be accelerated.

Taking the characteristics of our time into consideration, it is necessary more clearly to define the status of the Komsomol as representing the interests of the various youth strata within the political system of our society and take steps to make it a truly youth organization.

The thought has been persistently expressed that the Komsomol must abandon excessive petty supervision and acquire full autonomy in solving youth problems and work under the ideological guidance of the Communist Party rather than duplicate the content, forms and methods of party work. The party's leadership of the Komsomol must be essentially implemented through the young party members who work within the Komsomol.

It is also proposed that a state authority for youth affairs be created, which would implement youth social programs and coordinate work with young people by ministry and department, closely interacting with youth organizations and movements.

The working people suggest that a nationwide discussion be held on the activities of the numerous social organizations operating in the country, that their work be evaluated and the problem of the expediency of the existence of some of them be resolved.

In assessing the activities of public organizations, it is proposed to proceed from the main political criterion: any social activity conducted within the framework of the constitution and not conflicting with the interests of socialism deserves recognition and encouragement.

It is suggested to create the type of social organizations such as societies of book lovers, educators, OSVOD and many others, exclusively starting on the rayon level, without primary organizations in labor collectives. The establishment of such societies must be strictly voluntary and based on an individual approach, excluding collective membership.

Independent public movements must have a clear program which would define the means of participation of social strata or members of specific population categories in the implementation of the political, economic and social programs for the development of Soviet society.

The Communist Party must provide political guidance to all social movements and political, cooperative and other organizations founded on the basis of civic initiatives.

10. Development of International Relations

The fate of perestroika and the implementation of our extensive and daring plans, the party members and working people emphasize in their responses to the CPSU Central Committee theses, are directly dependent on the planet's climate and the international situation.

The considered policy of the CPSU and its leadership in foreign policy is approved. The new political thinking made it possible to formulate and implement a number of major ideas which have radically changed the very style of our relations with the foreign world. A dialogue, from heads of states to simple citizens, has become its main distinguishing feature.

In the new international situation, the foreign policy authorities must raise more persistently with the U.S. government the question of the full recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics.

Within the overall context of the problem of the sovereignty of Union republics, other questions arise related to the need to decentralize the existing system of international relations. In particular, in order to ensure the substantiated defense of the interests of the Soviet Union, it is suggested that representatives of the Latvian SSR be given the possibility of greater participation in international organizations dealing with problems of the Baltic area.

It would be expedient to provide legal and material prerequisites for increasing work with Latvians abroad. More extensive use must be made of inviting to visit Soviet Latvia of realistically thinking social and scientific personalities and men of culture and the arts among Letts who live abroad.

It is necessary to broaden the rights of Union republics in the area of making commercial deals with foreign partners and creating joint enterprises and firms.

The persistent and systematic development of comprehensive economic, scientific and technical, social, youth and other contacts with foreign partners, including directly, on the level of Union republics and regions, would make it possible to broaden concepts about the USSR abroad and our views on practices in solving various problems of social and political life in other countries.

Within the overall context of the CPSU course toward the shaping of contemporary international relations, it appears expedient to broaden the possibilities for the student youth in our country, including in our republic, to study in higher educational institutions abroad.

We request that suggestions, supplements and elaborations related to this document be addressed to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee or submitted through "direct telephone lines" Nos 32-02-10 and 32-05-65.

05003

**Main Conference Proposals of LISSR
Communists, Workers Published**
*18000520a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
23 Jun 88 p 1*

["Main Proposals of the Republic's Communists and Workers for the 19th All-Union Party Conference Received during the Course of Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses"]

[Text] Workers in Soviet Lithuania are discussing extensively the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They approve them, showing here a high level of political activeness, civic maturity and profound personal interest.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference from the republic party organization have examined the proposals received during the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Almost 187,000 communists and more than 320,000 nonparty people took part in the open party meetings in primary and shop party organizations and the party groups in the labor collectives. Some 50,500 people spoke. Many proposals were received via the mass media and also through telephone calls directly to the Central Committee. Due consideration has been given to the remarks and proposals from those attending the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 12th Plenum, at which delegates were elected to the party conference, and to proposals from the board of the Lithuanian Union of Writers and other creative unions and public organizations. A total of more than 37,000 proposals and propositions were put forward both on problems concerning the Theses and on matters beyond the scope of those theses. They include many businesslike and constructive proposals that must be studied in depth together with scholars and specialists and enterprise managers, and appropriate decisions must be made by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government.

It should also be noted that the proposals put forward also included many that are controversial and reflect a different approach to the resolution of complex problems. There are also proposals that are unacceptable.

One way or another all proposals are imbued with concern for the further expansion of democracy and glasnost and with improving our economy and strengthening socialism.

The public in the republic has expressed its opinion that the workers should be acquainted with the proposals that have been received. Taking this into account, after discussing the proposals with the conference delegates the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is publishing the main proposals for general information. Of course, it is not possible to publish all 37,000 of the proposals. Many of them are repetitive of each other while others are local in nature and can be resolved in a practical way at the local level. The delegates have adopted the proposals from communists and nonparty people as instructions from the workers in the republic for the work of our delegation at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

1. The Further Expansion of Glasnost and Elimination of the "Blank Spots" in the History of Soviet Society

To draw up and adopt a law on glasnost in which provision would be made concerning all legal aspects of glasnost, both verbal and in the press. Only matters concerning the country's defense, major state secrets, the individual's private life and medical confidentiality would remain outside the scope of glasnost. Provision should be made in the law for effective measures to deal with bureaucracy and the suppression of criticism and glasnost.

To devise an effective mechanism that would reliably insure the irreversibility of perestroika and the impossibility of returning to the cult of personality or stagnation phenomena. To condemn not only the cult of Stalin but also those who organized and carried out the repressions against innocent people. To erect in Moscow and in each of the union republics memorials to the victims of Stalin's repressions. To open up the archives extensively for those researching the history of the USSR and union republics and the CPSU and the republic communist parties.

To extend glasnost to the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and all leading organs. To relay on television and radio the work of all-union and republic party forums and other forums. To set up within them information services so that each person may pass on his proposals. To publish in full not only the reports but also the speeches of those participating.

To study public opinion more extensively. To put up for national debate (referendum) key issues in socioeconomic policy and to give due consideration to its results when final decisions are made. To set up institutes in each republic to study public opinion.

To give broad glasnost not only to mistakes by the country's leaders in the time of stagnation but also to the mistakes being permitted now in the adoption and implementation of national decisions (and to indicate specifically who they are).

2. Economic and Social Development and the Implementation of Radical Economic Reform

To improve the concept of cost-accounting relations within the enterprise and between enterprises and sectors of the national economy. To study and substantiate the possibility of introducing regional cost accounting in the Lithuanian SSR on the basis of realistic prices. The economists in our republic should make a substantial contribution to this work.

To give the union republics more independence in resolving economic, social and ecological problems. A number of economic matters should be transferred from the competence of the USSR to the republic. In this connection, to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that it make changes to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution.

Strictly to observe the Law on the State Enterprise (or Association). Consistently to improve sector and territorial planning.

To review the question of decentralizing economic management and of transferring some enterprises and organizations of all-union subordination to the control of republic organs.

To prohibit all-union ministries from resolving questions concerning the construction of new enterprises and the expansion of existing enterprises on the territory of the republic without its agreement. To make mandatory discussion by the population of the advisability of constructing major projects in a region on whose territory such construction is proposed.

To achieve further intensification in agricultural production on the basis of extensive introduction of cost accounting and the collective, family and lease contract.

In order to accelerate resolution of the housing problem to take the steps necessary to build up the capacities of the construction materials industry overall, both nationally and on the republic scale. To pay more attention to the preservation of historical monuments and to approach the all-union organs with proposals to accelerate restoration in the old part of Vilnius city.

To bring up for national debate the question of the reform of retail prices so that it can be done without detriment to the public and without lowering the level of the people's well-being.

At the party conference to pay serious attention to questions of ecology as a problem of great economic, political and social importance. Union ministries should

resolve ecological questions involving the Ignalina AES, the Mazheykay Oil Refinery, the Kedaynay Chemical Plant and the Ionava Azot Production Association and the cleanup of the water in the Baltic Sea and Neman River.

3. The Development of Science, Education and Culture

To extend the independence of the union republics in resolving questions of national culture, education, the press and other problems of spiritual life.

To increase the allocation of major funding to develop education, public health, science and culture.

To pay more attention to the preservation of national cultural traditions. To expand the study in educational institutions of the history of the Lithuanian people. To strengthen and develop the emphasis on the humanities in education.

To support the question of introducing into the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR an article on the Lithuanian language as the republic's official language.

To assign to the Ministry of Education the task of introducing proposals on the further improvement of teaching Lithuanian and Russian languages in republic schools and the introduction of a course on esthetics and ethics in the school program. To give the union republics the right to confirm programs and textbooks on the history of their own region and on literature and the arts and language, and to introduce additions and amendments to other programs and textbooks, taking national features into account.

To raise the question of rejecting the doctrine of mandatory general secondary education as something that has not justified itself. Secondary education should be a right not an obligation.

To be more active in recruiting scientific organizations into the system of cost-accounting relations. To review the question of the need for significant improvement in the links between science and production, and for creating a modern base for the scientific institutions.

4. The Development of Socialist Self-Management by the People

In order to achieve the further democratization of Soviet society to hold a national referendum on the subject "What changes should be made to the USSR Constitution and to the constitutions of the union republics?"

To delineate precisely the functions of party, state, soviet and economic organizations. To insure a decisive and real reduction in the apparatus.

To extend the electivity of leading cadres and to nominate several candidates for a single position.

To introduce a legal standard providing that officials—ministers, chiefs of sectors in executive committees, management chiefs and others—cannot be appointed to posts without the recommendations of standing commissions. To draw up a law defining procedure for the election of chiefs of ministries and departments and other officials.

In all elections the voting should be for several candidates.

To restrict to two terms the time that officials can be elected to party and state apparatus.

5. The Development of Intraparty Democracy

While remaining loyal to the principle of democratic centralism in intraparty life, to abandon rigid centralism and broadly develop democratic principles. Since it is the law of life for the party, party discipline should be deeply recognized by each communist but not maintained by rigid diktat "from above."

In this connection, to work out and introduce at the next party congress the necessary changes in the CPSU Rules, having first discussed them in the party organizations.

To regulate the procedure for convening all-union party conferences and precisely define their powers in resolving questions of party and state life.

In the election of delegates for all-union and republic party congresses and party conferences, discussion of candidates should start in the labor collectives and then be discussed at plenums of the raykoms and gorkoms and the republic communist party central committee.

To simplify procedural methods for admission to the CPSU and to abandon mechanical increases in the party ranks. To enhance the independence and responsibility of primary party organizations for strengthening their own ranks and to study more fully and give due consideration to the opinion of the labor collectives about those admitted to the party. To introduce the possibility of freely withdrawing from the CPSU ranks.

To leave some proportion of party dues at the disposal of the primary party organization.

Opinions are being expressed on the formation of the makeup of party committees. In this work there should be broader glasnost and guarantees for the practical participation in it of communists from the primary party organizations where candidates for admission are registered. To define in the CPSU Rules the status of the party committee at all levels, and also the status of any member of an elected party organ. To review existing CPSU Central Committee instructions on procedure for holding elections to leading party organs.

To be more active in conducting perestroika in ideological work. To pay more attention to people's patriotic and international indoctrination. To continue the search for ways to deal with drunkenness and to stiffen measures against the production of home-brewed liquor.

To clarify in the CPSU Rules the question of party leadership in the trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations.

To draw up a provision on the editorial offices of party newspapers, making provision for the electivity of editors of both local and central newspapers.

To review the periodicity for the convening of meetings in the primary party organizations and also party committee plenums with a view to reducing the number of meetings.

To raise the question of improving the structure of the party apparatus from top to bottom, and of reducing it.

Sharply to reduce the number of documents issued from above to below, and to define precisely which of them should be discussed in all party organizations. To simplify clerical work in the lower party wings.

Periodically to hold discussions within the party on the most urgent questions of party policy.

6. Enhancing the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies

The soviets should possess real power in fact. Things should be so arranged that the soviet resolves all questions rather than the executive committee. The apparatus of the executive committees does not have the right to issue instructions to the soviets.

To draw up a new law on elections to the soviets, making provision in it for the nomination of several candidates for each district. To reduce the number of deputies in soviets at all levels and to free them up from part of their service and production obligations and enable them to concentrate fully on their work in the soviets. To extend the right of deputies as envisaged in the Law on the Status of the Deputy. Deputies should not be elected according to some listed attribute.

To define more precisely in law the relationship between local soviets and all enterprises located on their territories. To establish firm standards for deductions from profits into the soviet budget. To transfer to the control of the soviets the funds earmarked for development of the social sphere in the region.

7. Improving Inter-Ethnic Relations

To develop an integrated concept for party national policy under present-day conditions, based on fundamental Leninist principles. To convene a CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of inter-ethnic relations.

To change the functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities so that it does not duplicate the Council of the Union but deals directly with questions of inter-ethnic relations. To create a department for inter-ethnic relations within the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

To draw up and adopt a law on the Soviet Federation. To restore the economic, cultural and political sovereignty of the union republics on the basis of Lenin's understanding of Soviet Federation. To extend the rights of the union republics in the sphere of international relations.

To introduce into the USSR Constitution an article to the effect that the state property of the USSR consists of the state property of all the union republics; and that the union republics are equal managers of this property on their own territory and meet national obligations.

To shape all language policy in the republic on the basis of bilingualism. To create for persons of the non-indigenous nationality conditions to study the Lithuanian language on a voluntary basis. To create as necessary conditions for the representatives of national minorities to study in their native language in the schools.

To set up in the USSR Academy of Sciences a special scientific subdivision to work on theoretical problems in inter-ethnic relations and the international indoctrination of the population.

To organize the publication of an all-union theoretical and sociopolitical journal to be called "NATSII I NARODNOSTI SSSR."

8. Creation of the Socialist Legal State

In their proposals the workers of Soviet Lithuania fully support the proposition in the CPSU Central Committee Theses on the need to complete the creation of a socialist legal state. Taking into account the tragic pages of the past associated with personality cult, it is necessary to hasten the creation of a legal mechanism to protect the interests of the individual before the state and its organs of power. To create all material and legal guarantees for each individual to exercise his constitutional rights of freedom of speech and the press, the organization of meetings and demonstrations, and freedom of conscience.

To cut short in every possible way any violations of socialist legality. To extend the rights of the union republics in the field of legislation. To set up a special constitutional court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, made up of representatives of all the union republics, to review controversial issues.

To implement all enforceable enactments of the USSR government and of ministries and departments in line with the USSR Constitution after the introduction of amendments and changes corresponding to the present stage in the development of Soviet society. To accelerate legal reform in the country.

9. Improving the Activity of the Public Organizations

In all their activities the party organizations should rely on the extensive network of public organizations, but without replacing them. To draw up a law on the organization and function of various informal associations.

New impetus should be given to the work of the professional unions. It would be advisable to increase the representation of the trade unions in state organs, primarily at the all-union and union republic levels. To draw up a law on the trade unions. To define more precisely the relationship between the trade unions and the organs of state power.

It is essential to raise the level of party leadership in the Komsomol. There are many proposals on defining a new status for the Komsomol and for the adoption of a youth law.

To enhance the role of the councils in the labor collectives and define their functions and rights.

To give party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the labor collectives full independence in defining the need for the creation of specific public organizations and formations.

10. CPSU Foreign Policy Activity

The fate of perestroika depends directly on the situation that takes shape in the international arena. Workers in Soviet Lithuania approved the well-considered, purposeful and peace-loving foreign policy course of the CPSU. The new political thinking is making it possible for the party to advance and implement a number of major foreign policy actions. They include the signing of the treaty to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range missiles, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and other actions. It is necessary henceforth also to take the steps necessary to strengthen our country's positions in the international arena, and it is essential to strengthen the socialist community and expand links

with the developing countries, and decisively unmask the aggressive last-ditch efforts of reactionary imperialist circles and not to weaken the country's defense capabilities.

To introduce proposals to the USSR government to make foreign policy organs raise with greater insistence with the government of the United States the question of giving full recognition to the Soviet Baltic republics. To expand ties with representatives of the progressive Lithuanian emigre population. To develop and strengthen friendly ties with Erfurt District in the GDR, Hajdu-Bihar Province in Hungary, the Bialystok and Suwalki voyevods in Poland, and with other countries. To give republics and individual enterprises and organizations greater rights and independence in developing international economic and cultural links.

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Lithuanian Party, State Official Comments on Theses Discussion

LD2306180 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] The main proposals of the Communists and working people of the republic addressed to the 19th all-union party conference have been published in the Lithuanian newspapers for general familiarization.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Adolfas Paulys—identified by caption] It is known that the bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the delegates to the conference have received and examined over 37,000 proposals and requests during the discussion of the Theses. It would be interesting to know what their main feature is.

[L.K. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet—identified by caption] All the proposals are imbued with concern for the further expansion of democracy and glasnost, the further improvement of our economy, and the strengthening of socialism. It can be said that all the inhabitants of the republic have taken part in the elaboration of this truly unique document. All the proposals, one way or another, are based somehow on the point that an integral national economic complex, the material foundation of the Soviet peoples, has taken shape in the country and is operating. This is the thought which stands out.

At the same time, the further extension of glasnost and the elimination of blank spots in our history are being proposed everywhere; as is well known, the history of Soviet Lithuania is particularly abundant in these blank spots—both in the distant and in the contemporary history of the 20th century. A radical improvement in the teaching of history, the Lithuanian language and other languages, the Russian language, geography and so on is proposed.

The implementation of a radical economic reform, including the possibility of the introduction of regional financial autonomy on the basis of real prices, is supported.

Issues of ecology are formulated to the point. I should like to say straight out here that issues of ecology are often tied up, all the same, with a lack of understanding on the part of some all-union authorities and organs when the question of constructing huge complexes on the republic's territory is decided.

Whole sections are devoted to the development of science, education, and culture with regard for the extension of the independence of union republics in spiritual life.

There is support for the question of inserting into the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR the Lithuanian language as a state language—it's written here [points to document on desk]—and of improving bilingualism further.

We are submitting a proposal to the Government of the Soviet Union that our country's foreign policy departments should be more insistent, active, and persistent in presenting the issue—primarily to the government of the United States and also to some other countries of the West—of the full recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics as Soviet republics, specifically. Because they have not recognized us hitherto—this, in the first place, runs counter to reality in all respects, as our people voted a long time ago, a whole half century ago, for Soviet power, and, in the second place, this somehow discriminates against us and even insults us—for this reason, we have recorded very clearly and precisely here the view that it is necessary to put a stop to this matter. In a word, all our people, the working people of the republic, are living for the conference. [end recording]

'Lithuanian Platform' on Theses Disputed
LD2806110 Vilnius in English to North America
2200 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From "The Way We Live Magazine" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A month ago the Theses of the Soviet Communist Party were put forward for nationwide discussion. The Theses assess the results achieved by the perestroika campaign, pointing to the obstacles that stand in the way and define the future steps which will be taken to democratize the Soviet society. Yesterday the national press in Lithuania published the most important suggestions and proposals made by members of the Lithuanian general public to the 19th party conference. In Lithuania about 500,000 people, both party and nonparty members took part in discussing the Theses and 1 in every 10 had the opportunity of speaking out publicly. All the proposals filed by the Lithuanian public have been carefully analyzed and generalized by Lithuania's leading political body, the Bureau of the Central

Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party in close cooperation with the conference delegates. Although officially this term has not been used, the collection of proposals to the 19th party conference can be termed as the Lithuanian platform. Here to comment is Edvinas Butkus:

[Butkus] I, too, will use the term the Lithuanian platform, though regrettably it is not a draft project but a final document which to my mind is disputable. This became extremely clear after yesterday's meeting with several delegates to the party conference from Vilnius. Although I must admit that the most topical issues did indeed find their way into the Lithuanian platform, so according to it Lithuania seeks to achieve economic, cultural, and political sovereignty but this goal is worded in such a careful way that one gets the impression that we are afraid to hurt somebody's feelings.

But tell me, who on earth could be insulted if Lithuania, with its well-developed economic, cultural, and political ties, strengthened the commonwealth of Soviet nations while making use of these ties for its own prosperity? With this in mind, maybe after all there was no need to refrain from entering the suggestion, voiced by many, that alongside Soviet nationality, the nationality of each union republic be restored. After all, this issue is a very important element in a country's sovereignty. Nevertheless, the platform includes a proposal that the Lithuanian language be declared the state language in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania, whereas this important issue seems to have been skipped over in silence in our 10-year-old Constitution.

On the other hand, how can a truly democratic country, something that both the Theses and the Lithuanian platform seeks to achieve, allow somebody from above to decide whether we in Lithuania can have Lithuanian declared the state language of our republic? If Lithuania becomes a sovereign socialist state in actual fact, I think that it could successfully resolve this and similar issues itself, on the basis of its own Constitution. Most likely, the fact that Stalin, the father of all nations, as he was once called, is resting in peace after his hard work has slipped out of somebody's minds.

Today we have got to realize that we and nobody else but we have to do the decision-making, and the future life we'll lead will depend on nobody else but ourselves and the way we manage to cope with our affairs now.

I think that some other statements formulated in the Lithuanian platform lack rationality. For example, one of the statements declares that more independence should be granted to each Soviet republic in issues dealing with national culture, education, and other areas of spiritual life. This of course is a very welcome idea and I think that it should be adopted at the party conference. But in close succession to this idea follows the proposal that the Lithuanian People's Education Ministry should take action to improve the teaching of the Lithuanian

and Russian languages in Lithuanian schools. God Almighty! Isn't that a matter of our own concern! And after this really outrageously funny proposal comes something which is very significant for the entire Soviet Union, i.e., the doctrine of compulsory secondary education, the platform states, should be dropped as something unjustified. And as it points out here that it was namely compulsory secondary education together with some other social phenomena that pushed the Soviet educational system into the deep crisis it now finds itself in.

One could speak in great length and from all kinds and angles about the Lithuanian platform because the document is indeed disputable. Having in mind the limited space of time I would like nevertheless stop at one important point: "We suggest that the foreign department of the Soviet Government body seek all ways to ensure that the United States Government recognizes the Soviet Baltic republics.

Why the United States does not recognize the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania after 48 years of existence and whether this position is grounded or not is different story. But the fact is that with each year more and more Americans are coming to Lithuania both on business and as tourists. Likewise the number of Lithuanians traveling to the United States is increasing at dramatic rates. This is the reality and future prospects of this development seem to be promising. But what will change in our lives if all of a sudden the United States Government recognizes Lithuania as a sovereign socialist republic? Will our life really become better?

And what happens if one administration does decide to recognize it whereas the next dismisses the recognition act? Although I must admit at this point that the situation would be viewed differently if the United States Government took action out of its own accord to recognize the Soviet Baltic republics as sovereign. But, as I mentioned earlier, it's up to us to achieve the sovereignty we so strive to have."

By this time my criticism, perhaps, will have raised the question in your mind: What was my personal contribution to the Lithuanian platform?

Well, I had the opportunity as everybody else to put forward a suggestion which I think is very important. After the conference is over, I said during one of meetings, we will assess reality on a set of new criteria endorsed at the conference. With this in mind I suggested that all the elected party bodies from rank-and-file level to the very top give full account its members on the basis of the newly worked out criteria. And should anybody fail to pass this test of democracy there should be a call for preliminary elections. In this way, I argued at the meeting, the fresh blood in the party apparatus would place the process of reconstruction or perestroika in full gear.

Unfortunately, as you might understand, my suggestion was not included into the Lithuanian platform. But I have a secret hope that some other delegation to the 19th party conference will put it forward or that this idea will come into being amidst the heated discussions in the Palace of Congresses at the conference.

Meanwhile the countdown has begun and there are only 4 days left before this important event takes place.

Grossu Reviews Restructuring, Discussion of Conference Theses

*18000501 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 88 pp 1-2*

[Article by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party, under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "With the Irreversible Course of Restructuring"; first four paragraphs italicized]

[Text] Fewer and fewer days remain until the beginning of the 19th All-Union Party Conference which has been called upon, as M. S. Gorbachev stressed at the May (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to establish the political, ideological and organizational prerequisites to not only guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization, but to contribute resolutely to the development of these processes and their intensification.

Since April 1985, the turning point for the fortunes of socialist construction, our country has been in continuous motion and regeneration. Society is changing and we ourselves are changing. All aspects of the life of labor collectives, state and public organizations, and the party itself have been affected by the economy's practical advancement based on the new methods of management, the solution of a broad range of urgent social problems, and the affirmation of glasnost and democratization. This is a specific manifestation of restructuring and the country's entry into a new period of development, for which economic stability, gradual improvement in the people's life and state of health, and efficient utilization of the socialist system's potential are becoming characteristic.

However, restructuring, just as any other dialectical process, has raised a considerable number of difficult and ambiguous questions. In addition, conservatism and dogmatism in thinking, chronic adherence to what is customary and routine, and the gap between words and practical deeds have not been overcome completely. Restructuring has not yet become an intrinsic requirement of every person.

All the same, we have every justification for saying that a truly nationwide struggle for radical reforms and regeneration, for a healthy moral and psychological climate in organic combination with a search everywhere for the new forms of management and their active

application, is even now, when the restructuring process is just gaining momentum, producing positive results in both the economic and social areas of our life.

In Moldavia, the national income produced in 1987 was increased by 10.9 percent over the 1985 level, compared with 9.4 percent under the five-year plan. This entire increase was obtained through improved labor productivity, which rose by 11 percent over the 2 years. During this period the average annual rates of industrial development were 5.7 percent, compared with 4.9 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The growth rate of the machine building complex reached 23.2 percent over the past 2 years. The best results were achieved by the labor collectives working under the new management conditions. This year, the rate of growth in production volume for the group of these enterprises is twice as high as the indicators for industry as a whole.

The areas of the republic's national economy which are making sure that the party's strong social policy is implemented are given close attention. The plans for consumer goods production for 2 years of the five-year plan were fulfilled by 101.5 percent; above-plan production of these commodities was valued at 151 million rubles. The average annual rate of increase in the production of cultural-personal and household commodities exceeded the average for industry, amounting to 8 percent.

Agricultural workers fulfilled the plan for 2 years of the five-year plan ahead of schedule for the sale of animal products to the state, delivering 65,600 tons of meat, 138,500 tons of milk, and 113 million eggs over the past 2 years. The plan for 2 years' sales of wool to the state was overfulfilled by a factor of 1.5. The socialist pledges on the productivity of dairy herds were fulfilled. The production and purchases of hothouse and early vegetables were increased.

A large-scale housing construction program has been implemented. The average annual rates of increase for the commissioning of housing, utilizing the limits of capital investment, and construction and installation operations during 1986-1987 exceed those that were planned. The overall area of dwellings put into use through all sources of financing was 919,000 square meters more than in the corresponding period of the previous five-year plan. The number of general education schools, polyclinics, children's preschool institutions, and hospitals that were put into use was increased. The volume of retail commodity turnover exceeded the target for 2 years of the five-year plan by 129 million rubles and the plan for providing everyday services to the population was fulfilled by 101.4 percent.

These are some of the positive results in the republic's socioeconomic development. They are the result of the growing public and labor activity by the masses and their resolve to bring restructuring to completion. But it is very important today to critically assess what has been

accomplished and to see the serious shortcomings and neglect in resolving urgent national economic problems, in fulfilling plans, and in creating appropriate conditions for the workers' everyday life and relaxation.

It should be noted first of all that restructuring of the economy is not proceeding as effectively as we would like. Inertia has its effect and there are relapses into management methods utilizing administrative pressure. Certain persons are attempting to evade the Law on the State Enterprise. Not all labor collectives have become active in looking for and utilizing reserves for production and its intensification and in strengthening discipline, order, and the quality of organization. At the same time, should we be surprised that many industrial enterprises (every fourth one, on the average) are not coping with the plan to deliver output in accordance with contracts? The volume of products that were not delivered in 1986 was valued at 134.2 million rubles, but the value of goods undelivered in 1987 was 199.8 million rubles.

Or take the plant growing sector of agriculture. Many problems have accumulated here which cannot be explained solely by unfavorable weather conditions. For the 2 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan the debt to the state consists of 179,100 tons of grain, 30,900 tons of sunflower, 1,315,200 tons of sugar beets, 102,000 tons of vegetables, and 325,100 tons of fruit.

A number of social problems are not being fully resolved and lag behind the preliminary plans. There are the costs primarily for shortcomings in organizing construction. The plans for putting housing into use, if all sources of financing are taken in total terms, have not been fulfilled. The plans for construction of a number of social and cultural projects have been disrupted as well. Over the 2-year period, 356.5 million rubles in capital investments, including 216 million rubles for construction and installation operations, were not utilized. The reasons for the situation that has taken shape and ways of resolving the problem of housing and development of the social and cultural area were examined in detail at a session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet in early June.

Effective steps are being taken in the republic to make up for the lag in developing a number of production sectors permitted for 2 years and 5 months. Many labor collectives have set themselves the objective of not only overfulfilling the annual plan, but the targets for 3 years of the five-year plan as well. More than 16,000 workers, 7 enterprises, and 436 brigades, shops, sections and farms have pledged to complete fulfillment of the plans for 3 years of the five-year plan by the opening of the party conference. The inclusion of new reserves in the work is one of the important conditions for reaching the planned levels for such indicators as national income, productivity of public labor, the output of industrial items, the output of animal products, and a number of other indicators.

Realization of the task that has been set requires that the efforts of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs and city and rayon party organizations be concentrated on establishing the conditions necessary for efficient work in the primary unit—enterprises, so that the steps for the transition to conditions of cost accounting and self-financing, for the introduction of new forms of labor and production organization, and for improvement in the style and methods of party organizations' management of the economy become more objective and specific.

The new general plan for management of the national economy should hold an important place in the system of measures for shifting to the new conditions of economic operation. In accordance with it, it is planned to reduce the number of union-republic and republic ministries and departments in the Moldavian SSR from 50 to 35 units, and the organizational structures of the central staff of ministries and departments will be restructured with the transfer of a large part of the functions they perform to enterprises and associations, as well as to local management organs. It is planned to reduce the number of personnel in the central organization of ministries and departments by 50 percent on this basis. Management staffing (republic, city and rayon) will be reduced by 9,300 persons in the republic as a whole by restructuring management of the national economy.

A great deal has to be done, and anyone who assesses the situation realistically cannot help but see that the task of economic and social acceleration can be accomplished only by selfless labor every day and an active, vigorous attitude. Restructuring and regeneration are not a tactical business maneuver. They have been called upon to ensure success in resolving vital problems, and the problem of meeting the material and spiritual needs of the people first of all.

Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference is under way everywhere these days. This most important party document, which has been imbued with boldness and innovation of thought and the resolve to develop democratic reforms and improve the political structure, and which has been called upon to work for acceleration and the vitalization of public life, has been received with great interest by communists and all workers in the republic. For the first time in nearly a half century, the party leadership has invited its rank and file members and all the people to discuss and deliberate together on the means, content, and forms of restructuring and its immediate and long-range objectives, and to analyze self-critically what has already been accomplished and what still remains to be done.

And the people have responded to this invitation, to the party's call to express their opinions on the platform from which it will meet the party conference. Many meetings have been held in each labor collective and

primary party organization and at the people's places of residence, and concerned discussions have been held on the Theses and the urgent problems of restructuring raised in them. More than 10,000 such meetings have been held. The workers have expressed their wholehearted support at them for the practical work of the CPSU Central Committee and its line of fundamental reforms in the life of our society. About 6,000 comments and suggestions, nearly half of which relate to restructuring in the party itself, have been made on all sections of the Theses. A large number of them have been published in the republic and local press and broadcast on radio and television.

Communists are suggesting specific steps to give more independence to party organizations, improve their structure, increase the role of members of electoral organs, democratize admittance to the party and work with personnel, simplify record-keeping, and many other measures which make it possible to do away with formalism more rapidly and bring internal party activity closer to the vital requirements of restructuring.

The list of questions raised could be continued. But the main point is not the number but the orientation of these questions, aimed at decisive changes, at affirming the democratization, glasnost, and development of public initiative that are vitally necessary and at creating a healthy moral atmosphere everywhere.

Today we have grounds for saying that after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee's adoption of certain resolutions on Moldavia, party committees and primary party organizations in the republic have been actively engaged in looking for ways to improve the style and methods of organizational and ideological work. Many party committees are rejecting the sectorial principle in organizing their activity and are boldly shifting emphasis to the provision of more practical assistance to primary party organizations and labor collectives. Democratic principles are being reinforced in the selection and placement of personnel, substitution and dissociation are being overcome in work with primary party organizations, and political methods of management are being assimilated.

The role and place of the headquarters of the republic party organization—its Central Committee—is being reinterpreted. The Seventh Central Committee Plenum, which discussed the report of the Central Committee Bureau on the direction of restructuring, provided good impetus for this. Permanent groups for the directions of work, headed by Central Committee secretaries, were formed after it to increase the role of members of the elective organ. Members of these groups are taking an active part in studying the various problems of cities and rayons and in preparing materials for discussion at the Central Committee plenum and in other forums. In addition, they have begun assisting local party organs in resolving the complex central problems of the economy by political means and in improving ideology and party

organization work. Only the first steps have been taken, but we think that this form of work will eliminate impulsive actions and superficiality and will make it possible to study the state of affairs more thoroughly and provide practical assistance in localities firsthand.

The success of the restructuring processes crucially depends on the party's reinterpretation of its role as society's political vanguard. The key to a solution of this problem is the need to create political mechanisms and guarantees which rule out possible violation of the Leninist principles of the party's leadership of society and which do not permit the old to win a victory over the seedlings of regeneration. The first steps made in this direction are well-known. There are glasnost, freedom of expression, and the pluralism of opinions. There are the alternative elections of leaders at various levels by secret ballot. There is constructive criticism, for which there are no restricted areas now.

The party is proceeding further. Taking into account the opinions expressed at the party meetings and in the press, the CPSU Central Committee advanced a number of specific proposals in its Theses, intending to examine them at the conference. They have met with widespread approval and development in the republic. In particular, the idea of creating a single control and auditing organ which would become, like the Central Committee, the highest organ of party authority, but only with control functions, is being supported. The presence of such a "party and proletarian conscience," in the Leninist expression, in the form of a Central Control Commission provides a maximum number of guarantees against possible errors, abuses of authority, and violations of the Leninist standards of party life.

A significant number of the proposals were aimed at turning the Soviets of People's Deputies into competent organs of authority in local areas and increasing their role in the economic and social development of their territories. Our attention is drawn in this connection to the composition of the highest organ of state authority in the republic. At present, the majority of managers of ministries and departments are at the same time members of the leading collegial organ of the Moldavian Communist Party and deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet. I believe that such a practice needs to be reviewed.

The CPSU Central Committee intends to reexamine and outline steps for further development of the Soviet federation and international relationships at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The party's political course toward meeting the interests of all peoples, bringing them closer together and providing for their mutual assistance, and our internationalist ideology, which is incompatible with maximalist deviations, are a positive basis for resolving the problems cited. It is precisely this

policy which promotes the development of the economic, cultural, and personnel potential of each Soviet republic and is a guarantee that each people and nationality will prosper separately.

Representatives of 115 peoples and nationalities are now residing in Moldavian territory. At the same time, it is not out of place to note that the basic features of the current composition of nationalities in the republic took shape a long time ago. The numbers of each of the nationalities residing here do not remain unchanged, of course, although their relationship, especially between the basic national groups, has changed little. Thus, the proportion of Moldavians in the population as a whole was 65.4 percent in 1959, but 63.9 percent in 1979. In these same years, Ukrainians made up 14.6 and 14.2 percent of the population and Russians comprised 10.2 and 12.8 percent, respectively.

Significant changes took place with respect to the republic's urban and rural population in the postwar period. Urban population rose from 13 percent in 1940 to 46 percent in 1986. This also has led to a change in the national composition of the cities. In the 1959-1979 period, the proportion of persons of indigenous nationality in Kishinev alone increased from 32.3 to 42 percent, whereas the proportion of Russians and Ukrainians decreased.

One of the problems which concern people in the republic is the language problem. This is completely understandable: language is a means of intercourse, the "repository" of spiritual values, and in general one of the important signs of a people's existence. The April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee gave new impetus to the increasing interest in linguistic matters. As stressed in resolutions by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the MoSSR Council of Ministers on this question, the development of Moldavian-Russian bilingualism is the main direction in linguistic policy. It must be stated frankly that not everything outlined in these documents is being implemented with the proper persistence and consistency and that the complaints made to party and soviet organizations in the republic in this connection are fully justified.

The problems which arise in nationality policy can be resolved in only one way, I believe—by strengthening society's unity not through administrative pressure, but by developing democracy in every way possible. Any hasty conclusions drawn in matters of bilingualism and the entire gamut of relationships among peoples are harmful and dangerous. A sober, sensible approach, discretion and careful consideration are needed.

The problems of a people's culture are many-faceted. Their resolution depends on many things. The material base plays an important role here. The necessary conditions have been created in the republic for developing enlightenment, secondary and higher education, public health, different types of crafts, and national literature.

As an example, in just the past 2 years, the number of seats provided for students was increased by 1.9 times as many and the number of seats in preschool institutions was increased by 1.6 times as many. This makes it possible for 85.4 percent of those attending school to study in the first session (77.5 percent for the Union) and for 70.5 percent of the children to be provided with public preschool education (58 percent for the Union).

Nevertheless, we cannot consider what we have at our disposal for spiritual development to be adequate. We still do not have enough up-to-date schools, kindergartens, clubs, libraries, places of entertainment, athletic facilities, and museums. This was pointedly and objectively mentioned at the Eighth Congress of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Our republic exceeds the average national indicator and existing norms today for the number of accommodations in club institutions per 1,000 residents, although more than 700 clubs and palaces of culture have been put in facilities that have been adapted, and many of them are in need of major repair. There is a critical shortage of equipment, especially furniture and musical instruments, in them.

We can also refer to a number of objective reasons, of course: these include the aftereffects of earthquakes, high population density, and finally, the shorter historical period assigned to Moldavia, compared with many other republics, for implementing socioeconomic reforms. Nevertheless, the principal reason is seen in the residual principle of the approach to construction of cultural projects, which took root during the years of stagnation. We should add to that the fact that contracting organizations are lagging seriously in implementing the plans to build cultural projects.

Party, soviet, and economic organs are to take specific steps at present to fully assimilate the capital investments allocated to reinforce the material base of cultural institutions. While 37 clubs and palaces of culture to accommodate 16,000 persons were commissioned in 1986 and 1987, 74 such institutions to accommodate 32,000 persons will be built in the remaining years of the five-year plan. In addition, steps are being outlined for the transfer of buildings made available after the staffing reduction in state institutions to educational and cultural institutions. Thus, the administration building of the "Viktoria" Production Association which is under construction has been replanned, and the capital's Youth House and the "Likurich" puppet theater will soon be given a housewarming in it. The building for a former men's preparatory school, which has essentially been rebuilt, has been transferred to a historical museum.

It is difficult to comment on all the suggestions coming from the workers within the confines of an article. Discussion of the political, economic and spiritual problems which have arisen is keen, in the spirit of democratic freedoms. Many of the arguments and discussions and the different opinions are peremptory and contradictory at times. And this is completely natural: in laying

the foundation for a democratic building, it is apparent that a certain amount of unnecessary emotion, fussiness, and rashness in opinions cannot be avoided at first. The new frontiers of glasnost are won and defended in the struggle and the clash of opinions, the discussion is about what is vital, and the process of building is carried out.

All the suggestions have been summarized and sent to the CPSU Central Committee. The delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference that were elected by the republic party organization have been fully informed about them. The question is sometimes raised in certain labor collectives: who is empowered to speak on behalf of the communists of Moldavia at the party conference? A great deal has been published in our press which gives an exhaustive answer to this question. They are all worthy people who are capable of contributing to the successful solution of the problems facing the All-Union Party Conference.

Someone may not have liked the procedure for their nomination, and someone may have wanted to see another communist among the delegates. All this is understandable. First of all, however, there have been no deviations in the republic from the nomination procedure established by the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Rules. And in the second place, it is not fitting to turn the fact that one comrade or another was selected or not selected into a subject of offense and ambitions. Attempts to establish that the nominations were imposed and that the results of the elections are causing disillusionment are unjustified.

Formation of the corps of delegates was carried out by discussion and nomination in open party meetings, expanded sessions of party committees and bureaus, and meetings of the active membership with the broad participation of nonparty members and representatives of public organizations. More than 8,500 persons took part in them, and more than 600 spoke. The communist participants in the meetings displayed deep interest in the selection of true supporters of restructuring and those who have every right to take part in the important party forum. In the primary party organizations in the Frunzenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Kriulyanskiy, Rybnitskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons and a number of other rayons in the republic, they held discussions for the purpose of nominating two to four candidates each.

A considerable number of communists known throughout the republic were among the delegates. For example, take Honored Builder of the Moldavian SSR N. M. Omelyan. He himself is an innovator in spirit, the kind that is necessary to be a communist. The brigade he leads was the first in the republic to master the shift method, and he has been working under contract for over 10 years. He is the author of the book "Perestroyku nachni s sebya" [Begin Restructuring With Yourself]. It contains frank arguments about the complex and difficult problems of construction work and thoughts about ways to resolve them. N. M. Omelyan is engaged in important

public work, and he is a deputy in the MoSSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Moldavian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

A principled, concerned communist with initiative who is capable of thinking and acting in an uncommon way. These characteristics were noted in the course of discussions about B. G. Zhalba, chief physician of the district hospital in the village of Zbersaya in Nisporenskiy Rayon; S. I. Fomin, fitters brigade leader at the "Elektrotokhpryor" Plant in the "Volna" Production Association; A. V. Simashkevich, a department head in the state university; Ye. I. Moldovana, leader of a viticulture brigade in the "Kodry" Agroindustrial Combine in Ungenskiy Rayon; V. G. Apostol, chief director of the Russian Drama Theater imeni A. P. Chekhov; and others.

There is no doubt that all the delegates from the Moldavian Communist Party justify the high trust of the republic's communists and demonstrate adherence to principles and persistence in discussing the fundamental problems of restructuring. They will reaffirm the credit of trust and the mandate to resolve fundamental political problems by deeds. All of them have already been actively included in preparations for the All-Union Party Conference. Each one of them is meeting with persons, addressing the workers, and setting forth his position and the thoughts that he will take with him to the party forum. The delegates are addressing a number of problems in the republic and local press and are speaking on radio and television. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is ensuring that conditions are provided for the conference delegates to receive the necessary information and prepare themselves actively for the work ahead. A decision has been made to establish an information and consultation center for the delegates at the Political Enlightenment Center of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The republic's workers are sincerely interested in the thorough preparations and the success of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They are studying the CPSU Central Committee Theses with a great deal of attention and, I would say, with passion. The opinions of the people today touch upon literally all facets of their life. Their revolutionary energy is being strengthened and they are increasingly aware of the fact that unity and consolidation of forces in society based on principle are necessary now, that it is more helpful for the fortunes of restructuring to concentrate attention on difficulties and costs, and that the process of reform is not a momentary action, but one that is objectively slow and complex. The people believe in the irreversibility of restructuring and are fully resolved to carry it through.

Moldavian CC Buro Passes Resolution on Theses Discussion

*18000518 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 1*

[Text] The Buro of the Moldavian CP Central Committee has adopted a decree entitled "On the Results of Discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference in the Republic Party Organization and Among the Workers of the Republic and on the Instructions, Proposals, and Objections Expressed to the Delegates to the Conference."

The decree notes that preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, called, as emphasized at the May (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to create the political, ideological, and organizational prerequisites that would guarantee not only the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization, but would also resolutely facilitate the initiation and deepening of these processes, have been completed in the republic.

A most important part of the preparatory effort was the comprehensive discussion in party organizations and among the republic's workers of the platform of the CPSU Central Committee set forth in the Theses of the party's Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Some 18,600 meetings were held, including 5,370 party meetings, more than 10,000 meetings in work collectives, and 3,200 in public organizations; about 1 million people took part in them, and 1 out of every 10 took part in the discussion. More than 54,000 proposals and observations concerning all sections of the Theses were expressed.

In the course of the discussion that was held, party members and people outside the party not only approved and supported the line of the CPSU Central Committee, they even displayed a rising level of citizenship, political activity, and personal responsibility for the fate of restructuring, a desire to really achieve strong and unshakable guarantees of its irreversibility. The vitality of the ideas of restructuring were at the same time directly related to the fruitful effort of the upcoming party forum and dependent upon the principled position taken by its delegates.

Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference from the Moldavian CP took an active and interested part in the discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee. They presented an exposition of their positions in meetings in 267 party organizations and work collectives, they held 554 individual meetings and talks in collectives of workers, educational institutions, and neighborhoods. Some 160 statements by delegates were published in the pages of the local and republic press and broadcast over radio and television. A large number of directions, proposals, and observations were addressed to them, above all concerning problems related to

democratization of all aspects of the life of our society, to accomplishment of radical economic reform, and to solving a broad range of social problems.

The discussion preceding the conference has been related to a considerable degree to the restructuring of the style and work methods of the party itself and of its internal life. Participants in it proposed specific steps to give greater independence to party organizations, to improve their structure, to enhance the role of members of elective bodies, to democratize enrollment in the party and work with personnel, to simplify paperwork, and many others aimed at resolutely getting away from formalism and bringing internal party activity closer to the real needs of restructuring.

A substantial portion of the proposals were aimed at improving the political system of our society, at working out a firm constitutional order, at developing a Soviet federation and interethnic relations. The opinion was expressed everywhere that there needs to be clearer delineation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic authorities, and an unswerving enhancement of the role of soviets of people's deputies. Quite a few proposals were expressed on the problems of the economic reform, the development of science, culture, and public education, and greater independence and effectiveness of public structures.

A significant feature of the collective council that has been convened were the critical examination by party members and a majority of the workers of their own place in restructuring, a search for ways to eliminate the present shortcomings in economic practice, social practice, and internal party practice, to overcome the surviving manifestations of conservatism, dogmatism, and stereotypes of bureaucratic thinking at both the local level and also at the republic and central levels. Proposals which had not been sufficiently thought through or were even unacceptable were also expressed; as a rule they were dictated by a lack of full understanding of the difficulties and contradictions of the processes of restructuring, by a detachment from real life, and by a lack of the necessary information.

The meeting of delegates with the republic's party aktiv, held on the eve of the conference, was an important political measure of a summary nature. Its participants were unanimous on the point that during preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the republic party organization had been enriched with new experience in political and organizational activity and comprehensive expansion of democratic processes.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has approved the results of the effort made to discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference among party members and workers of Moldavian SSR. It expressed a high opinion of the interested attitude of an absolute majority of the participants in the discussion, regarding it as a vigorous patriotic aspiration

of the people to speed up the processes of restructuring in the republic and to make their own contribution to the cause of strengthening the authority of the party and the country as a whole. The Central Committee especially emphasized the importance of the broadly displayed consciousness of each person's personal participation in developing and carrying out the party's revolutionary policy, in strengthening our multinational homeland, and in protecting the achievements of the October Revolution.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee noted the active participation in the preparatory effort of all the delegates to the conference elected by the Moldavian CP and the thoroughness and significance of the conversation held in their meetings with party members, the party aktiv, workers, and the public.

The Central Committee recommended to the party members who are delegates that they be firmly guided by the main instruction of the republic party organization—that they take an active part in working out the decisions of the conference, which have crucial importance to the party and people, that they make specific proposals related to development of restructuring in the political and spiritual spheres, in the economic domain, in social life, in internal party relations, proposals which incorporate the numerous thoughts and recommendations of the rank-and-file party members and workers of the republic.

The Central Committee has ordered party committees and primary party organizations in the republic and bodies of state and economic administration to thoroughly analyze the results of the discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and the orders, recommendations, and observations addressed to the conference and its delegates. They are to determine their own place in solving the problems raised and to take exhaustive steps to implement them in practice.

Secretaries of party committees and primary party organizations and party members in positions of leadership have been given a recommendation to personally follow up in a planned and systematic way on the course of this effort and to regularly inform party organizations and work collectives concerning the results.

The republic's party organizations have been ordered to be more resolute in invigorating internal party life, to set an example in restructuring, and to intensify political and ideological influence in the masses on the basis of the discussion held of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and an analysis of the preparatory effort and also in the light of the decisions of the upcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference.

They themselves need to learn persistently and to teach people to live and to work in the context of expanding democracy and glasnost, to fully revive in all collectives

without exception an atmosphere of openness, discussion, criticism, and self-criticism, party comradeship and discipline, and collectivism and personal responsibility.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has called upon public organizations and creative unions of the republic to step up their efforts toward constructive goals, to establish a wholesome moral and psychological atmosphere, and to figure as an important factor in consolidating all the forces of true fighters for restructuring.

In the present stage, the entire community is called upon to substantially step up its effort to teach people internationalism and patriotism and to form in everyone high political sophistication, respect for Soviet laws and moral values, steadfast rejection of all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, social inertness, and demagoguery.

The mass media, which have made no small effort to carry out restructuring, have been given a recommendation to pay more attention to a competent portrayal of the full complexity and crucial nature of the tasks to be performed and the political judiciousness of all articles and programs, so that they do not allow inaccuracies and superficial evaluations.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has called upon all work collectives in the republic, party members, and those outside the party to concentrate their efforts on unconditional performance of the crucial economic and social tasks of the 12th FYP, to decisively overcome a situation in which the painful problems of supplying food, housing, and everyday goods to the public are being dealt with unsatisfactorily and in which measures to improve the ecological situation are being carried out with intolerable slowness. Taking advantage of the broad opportunities extended by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the Law on Cooperation, the activity of the workers to manage production, to carry out the radical economic reform, and to monitor the activity of supervisory personnel should be enhanced.

In its decree the Moldavian CP Central Committee emphasizes that the most important cause of party members and those outside the party, workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, and representatives of all the republic's nationalities is to consolidate and unify efforts on the principled platform of restructuring on behalf of speeding up the socioeconomic development of the republic and of the country as a whole.

07045

University Conference Candidates Discussed
PM1706144 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 22, May 88 pp 8-9

[Mark Vodovozov report: "What Happened at Moscow University"]

[Text] On May 15 REUTERS spread information from its Moscow correspondent under the title "Revolt at Moscow University During Communist Party Election." It says in part: "Communist Party members at Moscow University revolted last week during an election of delegates to a major June party conference on Kremlin reform, sources who were present said on Sunday. They said the hall erupted in a storm of protest when leaders of the meeting announced that University rector Anatoliy Logunov and the head of the University Party branch were the official candidates for the University's two delegates. Shouts of 'We want Gavriil Popov' rang out and the storm subsided only when his name was added to the candidate list. Popov, an economist, is a leading proponent of the reform drive of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The election was conducted by secret ballot and Popov emerged as the strong winner, with more than 90 per cent of the vote."

About 3,200 out of the 8,000 Communists of Moscow University (MU) took part in the nomination of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. The students and teachers of some faculties were not at the nomination of the candidates, because discussion of the delegates at open Party meetings and in work collectives was replaced by large-scale meetings of the Party committees. This procedure can hardly be called democratic. At an open meeting the Communists at the economics faculty adopted a resolution which condemned this method of candidate nomination.

It Is Hard To Learn Democracy

"I'm not satisfied with the pre-election campaign," said A. Nikishenkov, secretary of the Party bureau of the history faculty. "I think a mistake was made in the very procedure of elections."

"It is hard for us to learn democracy," S. Tumanov, deputy secretary of the MU Party committee, said. "All the Communists knew the materials of the June Plenary Meeting. The time for the nomination of delegates to the Party Conference was clearly set—April-May. But the Leninskiy District Party Committee of Moscow waited for directives from the city Party committee, and our Party committee waited for directives from the district Party committee, and so on. As a result, we had only two days for all the discussions."

The result of this clamour was that out of the 32 primary Party organizations, open meetings were held only in 11 (in one of them it was, for some reason, a closed meeting), and in 18—meetings of Party activists or large-scale meetings of Party committees were held. And

two faculties—mechanics and mathematics, and biology—held their meetings later on, when the results of the nomination had already been summed up.

"Today not a single person at the University is satisfied with the nomination," Tumanov added.

Those who were nominated by the University probably feel just as dissatisfied. Both the rector of MU A. Logunov and E. Yershov, the secretary of the MU Party committee, are worthy people. But in conditions of developing democracy, the old order of nomination from the top was of bad service to them.

The faculties nominated, all told, 17 candidates. But the University Party committee "offered" only two of them "for discussion" to all the University sectors. The people who voted against the two, more often voted not against them personally, but against them as "designating a decision from above".

The Communists of the biology faculty had held their meeting after official nomination of the candidates from the University was completed.

"400 people got together, but many wanted to know what for, because everything was already decided," K. Burdin, secretary of the Party organization of the faculty, said. "However, A. Kuvayev, head of the organizational department of the Leninskiy District Party-Committee, who attended our meeting, assured the Communists that the results of our voting would be considered together with those of other meetings."

"What are the results?"

"G. Popov, MU professor, got the greatest number of votes, then—Academician V. Sokolov and E. Yershov, secretary of the MU Party committee."

I telephoned Tumanov, at the Party committee, once again.

"Can the newly elected people be introduced as candidate delegates to the Party Conference?"

"Hardly. The University candidates have already been recommended."

Candidate's Opinion

We decided to talk with professor G. Popov about the information given out by REUTERS.

"During these days I was too busy and didn't go to the University. So, I'm no good as a witness. But I can still confirm that the information does not conform to reality in many ways. General meetings of Communists have not been held at Moscow University for a long time now—due to the size of the Party organization, it's just impossible. But neither was a conference held at the

University recently, as alleged. It is true that my candidature was supported by several faculties. But it is not true that I was elected a candidate. The Party committee nominated A. Logunov and E. Yershov as candidates."

"What do you think of your name being nominated at some faculties?"

"The University is all for me. I studied here and became a scientist here. Thirty years ago I joined the Party, became a doctor of Science then a professor. I am a citizen and an academic. And if it's true that I really was nominated by the leading faculties—physicists, chemists, biologists, cyberneticists, historians and geographers—then I can only feel proud.

"I was sure that, sooner or later in our country, candidates would start to be nominated not as they have been traditionally, but from below. I tried to bring this situation nearer, through I didn't really believe that I'd live to see such times. Apparently, I underestimated the mighty beginning in each one of us—the desire to be master of society and not just a pawn in someone's hands."

"What do you think about your name not being on the final list of candidates from Moscow University?"

"If I and other candidates like me got our names onto the lists easily that would create the illusion that the main problems of perestroika are already solved, but the entire struggle is ahead and obstacles at the first stages prepare people for it much more than easy victories do. University means scientists, and future scientists. They all know that an experiment is rarely successful at the very first attempt. Success depends on the ability to analyze, to learn lessons and to repeat them over and over again. These lessons will be learned:

"The lesson in relation to the ability of bureaucracy 'to straighten up.'

"The lesson of not treating the election of a Party bureau and a Party committee as something scientists don't have to bother with.

"The lesson of being able to call Party meetings ourselves.

"All these lessons are so important that they overshadow the more persona issue of who will become a candidate for the Conference. Perestroika can win only if we are all active. We're learning perestroika. Sooner or later we'll learn to turn our majority into victories."

Grossu Addresses Moldavian Delegate Election Plenum

18000434a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 21 May 88 pp 1-2

["On the Election of Delegates to the 19th CPSU All-Union Party Conference. Report of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S.K. Grossu"]

[Text] Little more than a month remains to the day when the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference will open in Moscow. It will become an important milestone in the further unfolding of perestroika.

The conference has to take stock of the political experience gained since the 27th CPSU Congress, discuss the tasks for party organizations in deepening the process of perestroika, and define the new, non-command nature of the leading activity of the party and ways to effect cardinal transformations in the sphere of the economy and further democratize life throughout society.

The communist party is engaged in active preparations for its important forum. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the Conference will very soon be published in the press. We must discuss them extensively in the primary party organizations and through efforts by the party and the ideological aktiv inform the broad masses of workers. It will be necessary to generalize opinions, comments and proposals on the CPSU Central Committee Theses on an immediate basis and develop on their basis a unified viewpoint on the attitude of the communists and workers in the republic toward them, and also react in a skilled and immediate manner to factors concerning the activity of the local organs.

One important stage in the preparations for the upcoming conference is the great amount of preparatory work being done to select its future delegates. The discussion started long since in the party and in the country on whom to entrust with conducting the discussions and making the decisions. The nature of this discussion confirms most obviously the steady development of intraparty democracy and the affirmation within society of an atmosphere capable of a thinking that is out of the ordinary and of increasing social activeness on the part of the workers.

Already for several months communists in the republic have been taking part in this discussion in an attentive, keen and active manner. No one is indifferent. People are making their choice with a sense of their party and civic rights of initiative in nominating candidates. Over the past 2 weeks work on the selection of candidates in the republic's party organizations has reached its final stage. Today we must consider the question of the election of representatives from the republic party organizations to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

As you know, the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum confirmed the norm for representation: one delegate per 3,780 party members. Elections are to be held by (secret) ballot in which only members of the Moldavian Communist Party will take part. The voting procedure is defined by the CPSU Rules and the appropriate instructions on voting in the party organs.

Proceeding from the numerical strength of the Moldavian Communist Party we must select 52 delegates. Representative selection of candidates, in which an absolute majority of those present participated, has taken place at the level of the primary party organizations and the city and rayon party organizations. No specific principles were issued at that time with regard to the makeup of delegates in terms of personnel at the local level. The bench mark in the selection of future delegates for the conference was that they be active supporters of perestroika from among the workers, kolkhoz farmers, experts in the various sectors of the national economy, representatives of science, culture, education and the creative unions, party and soviet workers, and leaders and activists in the public organizations. M.S. Gorbachev once again reminded us of this important political principle when speaking at a meeting with leaders from the mass media, ideological establishments and creative unions. To what he said we might add that priority has been given to those organizations that for a long time have not had their own representatives at all-union party forums.

The version of the list of candidate that will be presented to you for discussion represents 34 rayon and city party organizations out of 49. This includes 8 of the 10 that have not had their own communists as delegates at the last three CPSU congresses. It is not out of place to note that this degree of representation is significantly higher than it was at the 27th CPSU Congress (26 rayons and cities). Taking into account the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro is introducing for your consideration a proposal on the possible election of six candidates from the central list for the republic party organization.

In order to work on their own proposals for possible delegates to the conference the party gorkoms and raykoms everywhere have taken counsel with the party aktiv. Meetings of members of the election organs in the rayon and city party organizations, and of the secretaries of the primary party organizations and leaders of public formations have been held in the rayons and cities. At those meetings there has been comprehensive discussion of the proposals and of which party organizations and labor collectives from which sectors could be afforded the right to recommend their own delegate. As a rule, those named as possibles were the collectives of leading, advanced enterprises, farms and organizations that are essentially the flagships of perestroika processes. An

absolute majority of them were primary party organizations from which no delegates had previously been selected for the CPSU congresses.

According to the information available to us the discussion was not pro forma but meaningful and keen, open and candid, with broad consideration of people's opinions. This was the way, for example, in which communists in Rybnitsa raykom exercised their right in selecting the primary party organization from which a candidate delegate may be named for the All-Union Party Conference. Here, the party raykom buro proposed that this choice be the party organization at the metallurgical plant. The motivation was quite convincing: the work of its collective largely determines the lineament of the rayon. The plant has repeatedly been a winner in socialist competition with similar enterprises in the country. But at the rayon meeting of the aktiv an alternative to this proposal was argued just as convincingly, namely, to give the right to select a candidate to the party organization at the stud and poultry sovkhos imeni 60-letiya SSSR. The collective of the republic's oldest sugar combine was also proposed. Although a majority of opinions had favored these collectives, as the result of the voting priority was given to the poultry farmers.

And of course, the main work in selecting candidate delegates has been done in the primary party organizations, whither, to use the graphic expression of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, "all the threads of perestroika lead." Open party meetings to discuss the candidate have taken place with the broad participation of nonparty people and representatives of the public organizations. More than 8,500 people were involved, and more than 600 spoke. In all, 72 candidates for 40 places were discussed. This is not counting the central list nor the six candidates from among the leaders of the republic organizations, who were discussed and recommended on behalf of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, since they will be among the delegates.

Communists taking part in the meetings displayed a profound interest in selecting true supporters of perestroika, those who have a real right to participate in the high party forum. Almost everywhere at the meetings and gatherings, several candidates were discussed. Thus, at an open party meeting at the Kishinevtrans Production Association the communists named four candidates: N.K. Aleynov, the association director, G.S. Georgiyev, director at the No 1 Branch, R.M. Sukhomlinov, the leader of a brigade of electricians, and N.V. Sheremet, a driver. Most voted to recommend N.V. Sheremet, of whom one of the communist speaking said simply and impressively: "These are exactly the kind of people that perestroika needs." Many similar examples could be cited.

The public in the trade unions and the veterans, and representatives of the Komsomol organizations, the women's councils and the councils of soldier-internationalists were extensively involved in the discussion of

candidates. Having party gorkom and raykom first secretaries as part of the representation of delegates was an especially crucial question to resolve. It is no secret that the opinion that they should be included as candidates nominated on the list has often first been shaped secretly, usually on the basis of numerical indicators, and in some cases without going beyond the confines of the viewpoint of workers in the higher apparatus.

This time the proposals on the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms were drawn up in the primary party organizations and discussed in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee with the participation of all first secretaries of party committees, and also at meetings of the members of the leading elected organs in the city and rayon party organizations, the party and economic aktiv, and representatives of the public organizations in the cities and rayons. The interest shown during the course of these discussions is confirmed, for example, by the fact that in the Chadyl-Lunga and Beltsy raykoms, alternatives were considered along with the nomination of the first secretaries as candidates. It is pleasing to note that as a result the viewpoints of the lower aktiv and of colleagues working in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro fully coincided in the matter of the first secretaries. In addition to the primary party organizations, the candidates nominated have also been discussed in the aktiv of deputies. The work that has been done has been extensively publicized through the mass media. Some 80 sets of materials have been published in the republic, city, rayon and large-circulation newspapers, and 65 have been carried on radio and television.

The Central Committee Buro is not in receipt of any complaints or letters about violations of the principles of democracy during the selection of candidate delegates. Even though, it must be admitted candidly, this process is not simple and is in many ways new, requiring from its organizers a high level of political culture and democracy. The costs here can be fully explained. We are all now learning to live and work in the new conditions, in conditions of constantly developing democracy.

For information I can state that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee did receive a letter from Ungenskiy rayon on the subject of isolated factors connected with the conduct of a meeting to discuss candidates in the primary party organizations. A careful examination at the local level showed that there were no grounds for doubting the correctness of the communists' choice.

Yesterday the Central Committee Buro considered and drew up final proposals for possible candidate delegates to the CPSU All-Union Conference. The list that we must discuss in detail on the personal level contains the names of 52 party members. The makeup of the list in the main reflects the qualitative makeup of the republic party organization. They include innovators and leading

people in the industrial sectors, the construction complex, transport, the services sphere, and agriculture and representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, party and soviet workers, veterans, and leaders of public organizations.

One fourth of those nominated as delegates are women. One in five is aged under 40. The list includes representatives of the main nationalities living in the republic. Most comrades have not been selected for any party congress. All candidates named are principled, creatively thinking, enterprising, active participants in public life. They are present here today at this Central Committee plenum.

Some 23 people are part of the central and republic leading elected party organs, 21 are part of the city and rayon leading elected party organs, 6 are secretaries of shop party organizations and party group organizers, 8 are deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 15 are deputies of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, 23 are deputies in city, rayon and rural soviets of people's deputies, and 3 are heroes of socialist labor. An absolute majority of them has been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union, including 13 people with the Order of Lenin and 21 with the Order of the Labor Red Banner. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee considers that all the candidates nominated are true creators of perestroika and people to whom we can rightly entrust its fate.

The selection that we must make today is extraordinarily crucial. It is very important that people who have been tested in specific deeds in the crucible of perestroika and through their active position in life have affirmed its ideology take part in the work of the conference. In short, those whom we do not just fortuitously name as the work superintendents of perestroika. They must play a most direct part in the discussion of issues on the conference agenda and carry through the mandate of their own comrade communists. And the main thing is upon their return to report the conference decisions to each communist and each worker, and its ideas and spirit, and roll up their sleeves and get down to specific work to implement those decisions directly at the local level and in their own labor collectives. These are kind of people to whom we must today entrust the mandate of trust from the republic party organization.

09642

Pugo Addresses Latvian Delegate Election Plenum
18000435a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
1 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[LATINFORM special correspondent report: "The Main Issue: What Position Will You Defend at the Conference? From a Plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At the plenum a regulation was promulgated not to restrict the number of speakers or the time that they spoke.

Some 75 people took part in the discussion of nominations for delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Those nominated as candidates for the 19th All-Union Party Conference were invited to the plenum.

The main issue raised at the plenum was the following: what is your personal position with regard to perestroika and what line will you advocate at the conference?

The main idea is that perestroika can be successfully implemented only if it is led by our party and its central committee and if it is under the leadership of the party organizations.

As already reported in the press, a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum devoted to the election of delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference took place on 28 May in Riga. Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary B.K. Pugo spoke at the plenum. He said that only one month remains to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The conference will be a very important event in the life of our party and our country, and in the further unfolding of perestroika. The conference will take stock of political experience gained since the 27th CPSU Congress and will discuss tasks for the party organizations in deepening perestroika and define ways for cardinal transformations in the sphere of the economy and in the further democratization of the life of our society. Communists and the inhabitants of our republic received with enormous attention the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the conference. This reaction was proof of the growing authority of our party and it can be firmly stated that the people trust the party and its Central Committee.

The Theses were necessary not in order to restrict the range of problems discussed but to provide a base for meaningful discussion at the conference. In the form in which they were published in the press and discussed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the Theses already take into account numerous proposals coming from the party organizations and from communists and workers in our country. Attention is drawn to the critical nature of this document and to the exacting approach to the issues raised. Discussion at the conference will cover primarily what it has not been possible to achieve during the course of perestroika. We, comrades, must all discuss the Theses in the primary party organizations and labor collectives and generalize opinions, proposals and attitudes toward them on the part of the republic's communists. And I think that it is very important not to postpone things but to react immediately to factors affecting the activity of the local party organizations.

One important stage in the preparations for the upcoming conference has been the work to select its future delegates. In our republic, as throughout the country, discussion on whom to entrust with the task of speaking for us at this conference and of making the decisions was

initiated long ago. The nature of the preparatory work confirms the steady process of development of intraparty democracy. Since April communists in the primary party organizations have been participating attentively, keenly and actively in the discussions about candidates. Discussions took place in the primary party organizations and then continued in the rayon and city party committees. The discussion has been conducted in various ways. In some places candidates have been discussed at meetings of the party rayon and city committee buros with the secretaries of the primary party organizations invited to attend. In some places there have been meetings of the aktiv. Some rayon and city party committees have held plenums, and possible candidates have been discussed at their own regional forums for communists.

With the participation of the primary party organizations a total of about 400 candidates were nominated. After the rayon and city party committees had held their discussions, they presented their proposals to the party Central Committee. We were offered 116 candidates. The lists of candidates up for discussion have been published in the rayon and city newspapers. We published them in the republic press, which we had never done before. For we have had no experience of this kind.

And even to talk about this experience, comrades, is the development of democracy in fact. There were no strict instructions from the CPSU Central Committee on how to conduct this work. And so the various republic party organizations and oblast party organizations organized it in different ways. Lists of candidates were by no means published in all republics. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau considered this form advisable. From our standpoint it is democratic and it made it possible to discuss the candidate more extensively, and better. At the same time, however, today it must be candidly stated that this measure also served as grounds for criticism of our work. We in the party central committee received numerous comments about the work connected with the nomination of candidates for election as delegates. Many letters were received by the mass media. Many comments were published. You are well aware that much material was of an extremely critical nature. And what does all this indicate? It indicates that there are probably no people who are indifferent to the election of delegates. This should be a cause of gladness; it is in the spirit of perestroika. The democratic principles themselves are being approved by people everywhere. But a number of justified comments were also made. It is probably right to say that the process of nomination and discussion has recently assumed perhaps a forced nature. What is the reason for this? It is that we had to end the discussion in May, and today is virtually the latest that the bureau deems it advisable to publish the lists. Accordingly, in some places the periods given to the raykoms and gorkoms were cut short, and so less time remained for the primary party organizations. We see the insufficient work done in this matter quite well, quite patently.

During the period of discussion some candidates were withdrawn. I shall not cite examples; there are many of them. But I will cite the figures: 400 communists were put forward for discussion and the names of 116 were published in the newspapers; that is, about 300 were voted down during the discussions.

We did receive the comment that it is hardly proper to elect all the members and candidate members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There never was any judgment in the Central Committee Buro that all the members of the buro should be elected. But at the same time it is probably not a bad thing that the names of those who had been nominated as candidates were published. Although people's attitudes toward this differed.

A number of questions, comments, proposals and opinions about individual candidates were also received. I think that it is essential to provide information first and foremost about the candidates from among the leadership. Quite a number of people asked questions or expressed opinions about whether people who have received party penalties could be elected as delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. This matter concerned Yu.Ya. Rubene. You are aware that the Central Committee Buro dealt very strictly with the business connected with the house at No 76 Gorkiy Street and Yu.Ya. Rubene was punished. The buro discussed his candidacy the day before the plenum. Yu.Ya. Rubene raised the following question: in the light of all this would the communists in the republic understand his nomination as a candidate? After an exchange of opinions, giving due consideration to the fact that Yuriy Yanovich has in general been working well for many years, and works with great energy and determination, the members of the buro decided that it was possible to let his candidacy stand. We have also discussed this matter with the first secretaries of the party raykoms and gorkoms and have received their approval.

The list of candidates that has been presented for discussion includes representatives from 23 rayons and cities. I would remind you that we have a total of 40 rayon and city party organizations. That is, one wish that may have been expressed today—that a delegate be elected from each rayon and each city—we have unfortunately not been able to satisfy.

Taking into account the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro is also offering for your consideration a proposal on the possibility of electing candidates from the republic party organization on the central list.

The people who will represent our party organization at the 19th Party Conference should, to put it figuratively, be the work superintendents of perestroyka. They should work actively at the conference itself. In our opinion, each comrade elected should have a clear-cut position on

and program for perestroyka and his own understanding of perestroyka. He must be the kind of person who after his return from the conference will become an active fighter to implement the line of the 19th Conference, and he should be able to speak out and actively propagandize the party line. In short, the demands made of the comrades who will represent our organization are very, very high.

I think that we need not hurry here. There is no need to be modest or feel shy about asking questions. Taking into account that almost all the comrades whose candidacy the Central Committee has put forward for discussion are present here today at our plenum, anyone can be asked questions concerning his views on and perceptions of perestroyka and his involvement in the work. In short, let us work so that none of us is left with any doubts about the correctness of the selection that is made.

In a second vote all 53 of those listed on the bulletin for a secret vote were elected as delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. But they did not get by any means the same number of votes.

In conclusion B.K. Pugo said the following:

The plenum has taken place in a businesslike manner, as we had wished. The discussion has been democratic and perhaps unusual for some. This really is the case. There has been heated discussion and a free vote. For us this has been a fine school—a school of democracy. We must learn to work under real conditions of democracy. On behalf of our plenum I would like to congratulate all delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Trust has been placed in every one. We wish you successful work at the conference!

09642

Vayno Addresses Estonian Conference Plenum Before Ouster

*18000436 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 1 Jun 88 pp 1-2*

[Speech by K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia: "Information by K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia"]

[Text] Comrades!

Less than 1 month remains before the opening of the 19th all-Union party conference, with which big hopes of party members and the entire nation are connected. One of the most intense, politically active stages in the life of our party and the country as a whole is beginning. Time saturated to the limit with major events seems to accelerate its race. The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which examined the question of the draft theses

for the forthcoming conference, was held a week ago. These theses approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee have been just published in the central and republic press for a wide discussion in party organizations and among workers.

As the conference approaches, debates at party meetings and plenums, in public organizations, in scientific circles, on newspaper pages, and on television and radio increase in our country. People raise the most urgent questions connected with the fate of restructuring. They are concerned about how to enhance the prestige and role of the party in the life of society, how to combine its policy with morality forever, and how to solve more efficiently economic and social problems inherited from the period of stagnation and from the time of the personality cult. It seems that comrades, who participated in the debates, found confirmation for many of their ideas, perhaps even their bolder development, in the published CPSU CC Theses. Such are the dialectics of restructuring, of the destruction of obsolete dogmas and stereotypes, and of the mastering of revolutionary thinking and actions with initiative. Many of our proposals, which were sent to the CPSU Central Committee in the course of the preparation for the conference, were also taken into account.

Now we must organize a wide discussion and explanation of the theses at open meetings of party members in primary and shop party organizations, party groups, labor collectives, public organizations, the press, and on television. Members of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, gorkom and raykom members, and our entire party aktiv should take part in this work.

Today we will have to elect delegates to the 19th all-Union party conference from our republic organization. This is the chief thing, for the sake of which we have gathered with you. However, before this we would like to dwell on some factors.

We are going to the conference and, consequently, should present a report. From the point of view of criticism and self-criticism we should interpret the practical material and experience accumulated in the republic during restructuring and on this basis develop proposals, with which the republic party organization will come to the all-Union conference.

What is the main positive result of past years? It lies primarily in the fact that restructuring is proceeding in the republic. Not as rapidly and noticeably as one would wish, but it is proceeding. We have our successes and our prospects, although there are also difficulties and the burden of accumulated problems, which during former stagnant years were not solved throughout the country, is too big.

What can we enter on the credit side of restructuring if we use strong language? First of all, the growth of social and national self-consciousness, revival of public life in the republic, people's increased political activity, and their striving to participate in the solution of urgent problems and in the development of concepts pertaining to the renewal of our entire life. Pages of newspapers and journals and radio and television broadcasts breathe with this today. This is also felt in the fervent and biased discussion of urgent problems concerning the republic's life among the creative intelligentsia and in labor collectives. Were there ever before such stormy and sharp discussions lasting many hours of problems concerning economics, history, and ecology, gathering hundreds and thousands of people? This is also felt in the activation of work by various public organizations and amateur associations, societies, and groups and in the appearance of citizens' initiatives. All this attests to the development of political democracy. Of course, this process is not easy or simple. Conservative and skeptical frames of mind, attempts at solving accumulated problems with a daring cavalry attack, concern about the fates of restructuring and its possible social consequences, and anxiety for the nation's future are also reflected here. Hence the boiling of passions, turmoil in minds, and excesses in the expression of views.

The new processes, which have unfolded in the country and in the republic, evoke an ambiguous reaction in different people and in different population strata and groups. It seems that the tension, which has arisen in the republic's public life recently, is also connected to a considerable degree with the fact that the intelligentsia, primarily the creative intelligentsia, keenly feeling the need for the most rapid solution of urgent problems, at the same time, does not see a sufficient, in its opinion, activity among other strata of the population, especially those that work directly in the national economy. Hence the strong emotional pressure.

All this is understandable. We did not think that restructuring will proceed easily and without conflicts, without a clash of interests, misunderstanding, and emotional outbursts. The chief thing is to deal with arising situations sensibly and to find optimal methods of solving problems and coordinating interests.

Time and patience will be needed in order to learn to live under conditions of democracy. However, it is important that this process is going on. People are getting out of the state of social apathy, are straightening out morally, and are feeling their civic and national dignity. This is one of the main results of restructuring. Moreover, today as never before we need an atmosphere of glasnost and a free discussion of painful problems. The richer the palette of our debates, searches, and initiatives and the more democratic the discussion of problems, the bigger the guarantees against mistakes, hasty conclusions, and rash decisions.

Processes of democratization are also developing, although slowly, in the production sphere. The election of economic managers has expanded widely. There are already considerable examples of active work on the part of councils of labor collectives and development of elements of self-administration at the level of enterprises, associations, and organizations.

Shifts in the economy are also observed. What is the chief thing here? Intensification of cost-accounting relations in industry and agriculture and mastering of the new economic mechanism by entire sectors. Increased attention to the social sphere, especially to housing construction. Development of the cooperative movement. A qualitative restructuring of the management of the republic's national economy. That is, work is being done. However, there are considerable difficulties. As yet a great deal has not been adjusted, for example, in relations between enterprises and ministries, which still often operate with methods of administrative coercion. The rates of progress do not suit us. As yet there is no proper persistence and boldness in mastering new approaches in the economy and new technologies. This was discussed thoroughly and critically at a meeting of the aktiv 2 days ago in the presence of N. N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Here, in fact, very briefly and sketchily, are the first steps of restructuring in the republic.

We are often criticized for the fact that restructuring, as some comrades think, is proceeding here at slow rates and that we are late in adopting cardinal decisions. In general, this is correct. Of course, all of us would like quick and noticeable results. However, it should be especially stressed: We are now making truly large-scale and fundamentally new decisions, which should determine the republic's economic, political, and social life for a long time to come. This determines the measure of our present responsibility. We must not fuss and yield to emotional fits. One of our famous economists well said that some people still often view the real economy as a sum of our thoughts about it, wishes, and grievances, not as an organic combination of economic laws, expediciencies, and necessities, which should be followed and not be disregarded. Each such decision requires a thorough preparation and a thoughtful and balanced approach with due regard for its possible consequences and effect on people's fate.

For example, let us take such an important problem as the republic's transition to full cost accounting, which has become one of the central matters for us. We have determined our policy here and the attitude toward this matter. This was discussed at two former plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. It can be said that the idea has been crystallized and extreme points of view and various kinds of stratifications have ceased to exist. Very intense work, in which a large group of scientists and specialists is engaged, is now

going on. In the next few months we expect to receive the preliminary version of the concept of republic cost accounting. These conclusions will be promulgated and then their wide and constructive discussion will begin.

I would like to say that I visited Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Moscow on 25 May and informed him of our work on restructuring and of the development of cost-accounting relations, including at the republic level. He asked me to convey to all of you that the CPSU Central Committee highly values the contribution of the republic's workers to the country's national economic complex. Speaking of cost accounting, he noted that it represents a long-term policy of the party and should be developed persistently in the brigade, enterprise, city, rayon, and, finally, at the level of the republic as a whole. The economy should not stand still.

Of course, the republic's transfer to cost accounting and introduction of self-management of the republic's economic complex will largely depend on measures taken at the all-Union level for improving regional aspects of the economic mechanism. This will also depend on the degree of preparedness, our proposals, and our concept. Therefore, it seems that the transition must be made in stages.

Decentralization and expansion of the republic's rights and responsibility for an overall and social development and for the implementation of cultural policy in localities—these are problems that should be solved in the first place. In our opinion, the package of proposals, with which the republic party organization should come to the all-Union conference, should be connected precisely with this.

Extensive and very intense work is now going on in different directions and on different problems. A number of commissions and workers' groups have been established. They include members of the Central Committee, scientists, specialists, and representatives of party and Soviet organs.

Development of a new general scheme for the management of the republic's national economy is one of such directions. We discussed the basic principles of this scheme at previous plenums of the Central Committee. Our scheme was approved by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

There is a great deal of talk about the new scheme. Various points of view and opinions are expressed. However, I would like to recall that it is precisely a scheme. Its detailed study and determination of the organizational structure of newly established management organs take place in especially established commissions with a wide enlistment of scientists, specialists, deputies, and representatives of ministries and enterprises.

Proposals put forward by the public, creative unions, and party and Soviet bodies are being examined. I would like to dwell on some of them.

It is well known how sharply problems of ensuring legality, intensifying control over the activity of law protecting organs, and expanding glasnost in their work are raised now. A great number of problems have accumulated here. They must be solved. A number of specific proposals connected, as noted in the theses, with strengthening the socialist legal state deserve attention; for example, the problem of establishing a Constitutional Court of the USSR and Union republics, of the need for a legal reform, and of glasnost in criminal and judicial statistics. Appropriate proposals are being developed by a group of our authoritative jurists.

At the same time, we can and should do a great deal in our republic. Problems of establishing in our Supreme Soviet commissions for ensuring socialist legality and internal security and of expanding the functions of similar commissions in city and rayon executive committees are already being studied.

At our past plenum we talked about the need to adopt a fundamental, legally and morally sound position in the evaluation of such painful events for our nation as the exiles of 1941 and 1949. Today I would like to talk about how these matters are being examined. The republic's procuracy and other law protecting organs submitted to the ESSR Council of Ministers proposals to revoke previous decisions by republic organs on these matters as contradicting the general principles of socialist justice. The problem of declaring the exiles of 1941 and 1949 illegal is also set for appropriate competent Union bodies. Thus, a legal evaluation with all the ensuing legal consequences will be given to these phenomena.

There are a number of problems connected with national relations, which we consider necessary to examine and solve in the very near future. The problem of the republic's state language and some other matters are already being studied by the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Of course, all these proposals and developments will have to be discussed widely.

Today I would like once again to touch upon the problem of migration. As before, it is being widely and sharply discussed in mass information media, in labor collectives, and at the domestic level. I have already had occasion to say and today I want to repeat that migration is engendered by former times and extensive development. Restructuring has given us the opportunity to approach these problems and to interfere in these processes. We had already put this problem on the agenda last year. Appropriate decisions on limiting migratory processes were adopted. They are already in effect. In Tallinn following the appeals of 22 enterprises only eight people have been registered in 4 months of this year.

That is, the position on these matters has been determined. This work must be continued and administrative measures must be reinforced to an ever greater extent with economic ones, which, in principle, should be more effective.

I would like to say something else in connection with this. Not quite correct and rash statements wounding people's national feelings appear from time to time in mass information media, in some speeches, and in conversations. We do not share these thoughts and opinions. Complicated problems, especially in such a sensitive and delicate sphere as national relations, cannot and should not be solved through confrontation and mutual reproaches and insults. Those that manifest self-control, calm, and maturity in these matters act correctly. Far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn and, moreover, generalizations should not be made on the basis of some immature and hasty statements. I would like to repeat once again on behalf of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia that in our republic there can be no question of any discrimination against any population groups and of any infringement of their interests. This contradicts our socialist principles.

I would like to dwell separately on problems concerning the development of public movements and citizens' initiatives in the republic. The Bureau of the Central Committee expressed its position on these matters. We have a positive attitude toward all the movements arising in support of the party policy of restructuring, including the idea of the people's front. We would like to see to it that there are more initiatives and that all of them work for our common cause—restructuring. It needs wide and energetic support from below and unification of all public forces interested in profound revolutionary transformations and ready to act in practice so that the restructuring process becomes irreversible. The idea of the people's front, which has now met with a big response in the republic, could also serve the establishment of such an association.

This is a new endeavor. In the republic and in the country there is no experience in the development and formation of democratic movements with initiative. That is why there is a need for debates and discussions, in the course of which positions, forms of work, methods, and fulcrums in practical activity connected with restructuring would be determined. As during the laying of foundations of a house, in order that it may stand safely and firmly, it is important to place the first stone correctly, so during the birth and formation of a new movement it is important to determine initial positions. For now, however, different points of view and different statements on the goals and tasks of the people's front exist. Some see in it a wide popular movement with a positive program and active participation in practical work connected with restructuring. We share such a point of view. However, there are also those that want to

assign to the people's front the role of a kind of opposition, which will only criticize and expose "all and everything." It seems that Yaak Allik, director of the Ugala Theater, is right. In an article published in the newspaper EDAZI he says that in the program that has now been proclaimed by the organizing group the people's front undertakes only the functions of a controller and critic, at the same time, declaring that it does not want to have anything in common with practical work and responsibility. As he notes correctly, such a position is both unethical and unproductive. To be sure, he is also right when he casts doubt on the thesis of nonadmission of party, Komsomol, and trade union workers into the movement. In fact, is it possible to develop a mass people's democratic movement in an undemocratic way, creating artificial restrictions and obstacles from the very beginning?

By no means every person is now an active participant in restructuring and a gap between the opinions concerning restructuring and its real results in localities still exists. That is precisely why the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia considers it positive and useful when organizing groups arise in labor collectives and unite those that actively want to change for the better the state of affairs in their collective, be it an industrial enterprise, a kolkhoz, a sovkhoz, or an institution. Naturally, party members and party organizations should not remain aloof from this and should actively participate in all these processes, as in everything that works for restructuring.

Moreover, as in any new endeavor shady people—the scum—also appear, trying to set up and head organizing groups here and there in localities. Party organizations should work more actively here and not give initiative to random people.

Tact is also important so that the goals of the movement are equally close to all population groups. It will be incorrect if the new movement becomes uniform in the national criterion and is transformed from a people's front into a national one. We have one republic and the success of restructuring, in whose support this movement arises, can be ensured only by common efforts.

What would I like to add to this? We now talk a great deal about pluralism. However, not everyone understands what this is and what stands behind this. Pluralism in its bourgeois sense leads to a diffusion of power in society. Socialist pluralism has nothing in common with the bourgeois concept of "free game" of political forces. It is a question of the representation of different views in elected organs of power, of differences in the positions of individual political institutions, for example, the state and trade unions, of putting forward alternative draft decisions, and so forth. It is important that all this takes place in the fight for socialism. This should be kept in mind.

A number of proposals, with which the Central Committee Buro considers it possible to come to the all-Union party conference on behalf of the republic party organization, concerns the development of democracy. These are very important problems, without the solution of which we will not be able to advance. An important place is also assigned to them in the CPSU CC Theses.

First of all, this is a range of problems connected with the development of state democracy. The system of elections occupies a paramount place among them. Views stating that it is no longer possible to approach the organization of elections and the formation of the composition of deputies in the old way are expressed in localities.

What are the proposals here? When putting forward candidate deputies, to eliminate the statistical approach completely. To enable public organizations to participate in the preelection campaign widely. Of course, when putting forward candidates, large labor collectives should remain the main link. Elections should be carried out on a competitive basis from several candidacies.

It seems that the practice of putting forward figures on a Union scale as candidate deputies should be changed. It would be correct if during elections to the country's Supreme Soviet they would be put forward not in individual okrugs, but would be submitted for a general discussion and voting. After all, it is logical that the entire nation, not only one okrug, should give an evaluation to first leaders during elections.

A number of proposals are connected with the development of democracy in the party. Primary party organizations, gorkoms, and raykoms spoke mostly about these matters.

All of us feel the acute need for a new interpretation of the party's role at the present stage and of the new functions and methods of work by party committees.

The proposals received from party organizations, party committees, and labor collectives both for the development of intraparty democracy and other matters represent the richest material.

It seems that we should support the view of many party members that the very procedure of admission to and departure from the party should be democratized. Obviously, it is necessary to give the right to a free departure from the party, as party members in Kharyuskiy Rayon propose, on the basis of the state of health, in connection with the impossibility of actively working in a party organization. The title "Honorary Party Member" could be established for such party members, who have worked in a fitting manner in the party for many years. Apparently, there is no need to keep in the party those that themselves want to leave its ranks. It seems that this would only rally the party, strengthen it, and clear its ranks from random people, so-called fellow-travelers and careerists, those that do not agree with its policy.

I have already had occasion to express at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee some proposals on changing and reinterpreting the structure of the party apparatus, having in mind the intensification of organizational and ideological work of party committees. Of course, a reduction in the apparatus, which will occur in this case, is made not simply for the sake of decreasing the number of workers. We expect that in this way it is possible to strengthen low-level party links. Proposals that party apparatus workers should be registered in the low-level party organizations supervised by them also deserve attention. Then they would be people, who do not simply drop in on collectives as guests, but live with their concerns and anxieties and know well their needs, successes, and failures.

In any case, I believe that we should support the proposal by the Raplaskiy Rayon party organization and other party members on intensifying the independence and responsibility of gorkoms and raykoms and on granting them the right to determine for themselves the structure and composition of the apparatus in accordance with the specific nature of their city or rayon and the number of primary party organizations. The obsolete structure and functions of party committees formed many years ago directly presuppose a replacement of Soviet and economic bodies and open the way to bureaucratization and isolation from rank-and-file party members.

I would like to note that some of our proposals concerning the development of intraparty democracy were reflected in the theses. For example, this concerns the limitation of the periods of service in elected leadership posts in the party and a systematic renewal of the composition of leaders at all levels—from the party committee of an enterprise to an obkom and the Central Committee. The Tartu City party organization and other party members put forward such a proposal. The practice of intraparty life during the last decades indicates that a long occupation of elected posts by the same people often leads to serious negative consequences and to stagnation in the movement of personnel. At the same time, it is necessary to develop the mechanism of the party worker's social defense and to provide for him favorable opportunities to return to work in his basic occupation after completing the period of service in elected posts. It seems that these provisions should be backed at the party conference.

Among the many proposals, which we have received from party organizations in the course of the preparation for the conference, there are also those that we can and should use in our work without waiting for the conference. The idea of forming under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia groups of experts, consisting of experienced party workers and scientists, in various problems connected with the political guidance of processes of the republic's public life deserves attention. There are many proposals on enhancing the role of the elected party aktiv, forming the composition of the

Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms, and increasing the effectiveness and success rate of the work of plenums. We consider it necessary to realize many things and to put them into the practice of our work.

Very many party members say that it is necessary to create favorable conditions for expanding debate in party work, especially when decisions of a long-term nature are worked out. This is very valid. Without a wide discussion, criticism, and debates there is no progress. Of course, this in no way relieves party members of the responsibility for fulfilling decisions when they are already adopted.

There are also many other proposals. Now, when the CPSU CC Theses have been published and when their discussion begins in party organizations, new thoughts will also appear and many proposals will receive a new development.

Before this plenum members of the Central Committee Buro visited many collectives and met with many party members. I personally met more than once with the party aktiv in localities, was in labor collectives, and had detailed talks with the majority of first gorkom and raykom secretaries on problems of work under the new conditions and preparation for the party conference. In the course of all these meetings and talks we felt tremendous interest in the forthcoming party conference. Among the raised problems two, which are now of special concern to everyone, can be singled out: Who specifically will represent the Estonian Republic party organization at the party conference and with what will our delegation go to Moscow?

It seems that the delegates elected today will gather later in order to determine collectively, on the basis of the theses, today's discussion, and proposals by party members, the issues that could be voiced at the conference on behalf of the republic party organization.

We have gathered with you in order to elect delegates to the conference. However, even today we could exchange thoughts in connection with certain provisions of the theses, to express our attitude toward them, and to introduce proposals. After all, a discussion of the theses is collective creative work and research. How we will continue to live and work largely depends on this.

11439

Estonian CP CC Takes Measures To Prepare Conference Delegates

18000492a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 3 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by E. Cherevashko, head of the department for the organization of party work of the Estonian CP Central Committee: "Creatively Carry Out Preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Ninth Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee completed its

work a few days ago in Tallinn. During the plenum a delegation was formed and elected that will represent the Estonian CP at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Now that the work of forming the delegation has been completed, now that 32 delegates have been elected out of the more than 600 candidates nominated (and that is not the final figure), the full volume of the organizational and political effort involved in the discussion and the nomination of candidates on the basis of broad democracy and glasnost has become more distinctly visible. Emphasizing the importance and significance of the effort that has been made, we would like to express sincere gratitude and recognition to all those who took an active part in preparing and holding the elections of delegates and in this way made a specific contribution to forming the delegation.

At the same time, it should be said that now that the delegates to the conference have been elected, we can consider the job done. The elections are only a vote of confidence. Now we need to see that every delegate, whoever he may be—a leader, a specialist, an ordinary worker—becomes actively involved in preparation for the upcoming conference. There is a large and extremely necessary job to be done that will take a lot of work. In our view, it should begin with a thorough elaboration of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee, with a study and assessment of the situation that has come about in the republic, the city, the rayon, and the work collective which the delegate represents. It is from those positions that we need to grasp and conceptualize in a new way the need for restructuring of the party, society, and state, to outline and accomplish in practice at the local level the restructuring of the work of the relevant party gorkom or raykom, the primary party organization, the soviet of people's deputies, its executive and management authorities, standing commissions, delineation of functions among party, soviet, and economic authorities, the solution of a number of other very important problems reflected in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the upcoming conference.

In preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the delegates may find it necessary to consult on certain matters and to receive relevant material. The delegates may obtain consultations in the Estonian CP Central Committee. A permanent consulting station will be opened for this purpose in the Center for Political Education.

Delegates can also request consultation from ministries, state committees, departments, and any state agencies, bodies in the economy, and public organizations. It is their duty to furnish the delegates all necessary material, to give them competent clarifications on all matters that lie within the jurisdiction of those bodies.

The purpose of all this assistance is so that the delegates can fruitfully take part in the proceedings of the conference and to prepare themselves for the public speeches

they will be making, their meetings with work collectives and the general public where they live, as well as in the press and over television and radio.

Party committees should in their propaganda effort make use of all our comrades who were nominated by primary party organizations and work collectives. These candidates are our fighting reserve of vigorous soldiers for restructuring. They possess the necessary prestige within their collectives, and they enjoy their support. No lecturer brought in from outside can achieve the same result as can be achieved by an activist in his own work collective who knows in detail its pluses and minuses, its difficulties and shortcomings. And we need to give that full appreciation in the entire effort we make to clarify the decisions which will be adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

At the same time, we need to show particular concern so that every speaker is solidly prepared for the open dialogue, learns to express his thoughts and arguments fluently, and can skillfully defend the positions he has taken. The explanatory work must include contacts with support groups of the Popular Front to support restructuring, formations of "greens," and other bodies of spontaneous social movements.

There is also a need to do serious work with the proposals that have come in from the field for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and also in connection with publication and clarification of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee. All the proposals coming in must be promptly and thoroughly studied, analyzed, and summarized for the delegation being sent to the conference. To that end the Secretariat of the Estonian CP Central Committee has decided to create four groups for various lines of democratization of party life and the life of society and also for other aspects of restructuring.

Provision has also been made to form a summary group, whose main task is to prepare a specific document reflecting the basic essence of the proposals which the republic party organization will submit to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There will be an announcement in the press about the results of this group's effort.

The plan is to draw upon scientists, public figures, party and soviet officials, and personnel in the economy for membership in the groups.

It is desirable for authors to send their letters with proposals to the Estonian CP Central Committee marked "For the 19th All-Union Party Conference." This will considerably speed up their consideration, and it will contribute to the efficient organization of the work of the groups analyzing and summarizing the proposals.

Less than a month is left before the opening of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Over that period we should completely finish the entire job related to clarifying the

Theses of the CPSU Central Committee so that when the delegation returns from Moscow practical realization of the decisions adopted at the conference can be undertaken without delay.

07045

Estonian Popular Front Groups Demand New Delegate Elections

18000492b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 3

[Document received the previous day by the editors from the Sovkhoz imeni A. Sommerling and published without abridgment or commentary: "Guided by the Conscience of an Estonian and Party Member...."]

[Text] Appeal to Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference

Election of delegates to the All-Union Party Conference by the plenum of the Estonian CP on 30 May, during which there was no discussion of the candidates nominated by city and rayon committees, has dealt a grave blow to the authority of the Communist Party in the eyes of inhabitants of Estonia. After what was in essence antidemocratic consent to the list of delegates selected by the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee for the party conference, which is supposed to discuss the democratic principles of our society and party, it is difficult to take seriously all the talk and promises about expansion of democracy and protection of restructuring.

If the prestige and authority of the party in the eyes of the people is dearer to you than personal ambition, we PROPOSE to you, guided by the conscience of a party member, that you withdraw from the delegation and demand that a new plenum of the CPSU Central Committee be convened where election of the delegates would be conducted by secret ballot among all the candidates nominated by the city and rayon committees.

This appeal has been approved by an assembly of authorized representatives of 52 support groups of the Popular Front in Vilyandiskiy Rayon, which have more than 1,000 members, 1 June 1988.

In the name of the assembly the appeal is being sent to you by the chairman of the temporary coordinating center of the Popular Front of Vilyandiskiy Rayon,

K. Yeits

Esteemed K. Yeits!

In answer to the appeal which you forwarded and which was approved by an assembly of the authorized support groups of the Popular Front of Vilyandiskiy Rayon, allow me to report that guided by the conscience of an

Estonian and Communist, I do not intend to voluntarily withdraw from membership of the delegation of the Estonian CP to the 19th Party Conference.

The party organization of a work collective nominated me to be a candidate for the delegation, my nomination was supported by the Kharyuskiy Rayon Party Committee. I am one of the seven candidates officially nominated from our rayon. Were I to withdraw from the delegation, I would deprive myself of the opportunity to fight for the rights and convictions of Estonians, their colleagues, and all ordinary rural toilers.

As for personal ambition (in Estonian the word is equivalent to ambition), or personal motives, as you refer to in your letter, I have never set such goals in my civic activity and I have never made use of any means of attaining them. I respect the socially useful activity of the Popular Front in support of glasnost and restructuring. But the movement loses its prestige if it tramples on ethics and moral standards, if it makes use of accusations of this kind.

Respectfully,

E. Alvin, Tractor driver on the Sovkhoz imeni A. Sommerling, chairman of the council of the farm's work collective

07045

Yaroslavl Plenum Withdraws Conference Delegate

18000473 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jun 88 p 2

[Own correspondent M. Ovcharov report: "Removed From the List of Delegates: How Yaroslavl CPSU Obkom Plenum Adopted an Unusual Decision"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—A CPSU obkom plenum was held in Yaroslavl 16 June with the agenda: "On letters and appeals from party organizations and working people of the oblast to the CPSU obkom and the mass media in connection with the election of F.I. Loshchenkov as delegate to the 19th all-union party conference." The plenum, which lasted just over 5 hours, was unusual. There were no standing orders. There was no list of speakers prepared beforehand, and anyone could mount the platform or go up to the roving microphone and express his viewpoint. And opinions, incidentally, were sometimes diametrically opposed.

Here is a brief account of the plenum:

I. Tolstoukhov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom: "After the election on 21 May at the previous obkom plenum of Comrade F. Loshchenkov, former obkom first secretary and now chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, as a party conference delegate,

the obkom and gorkom, newspapers, radio, and television began to receive letters, complaints, and resolutions of party meetings expressing disagreement with the election of this candidate and a demand that the obkom's decision be reviewed."

Question from the auditorium: "What is Comrade Loshchenkov personally accused of?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Personally, nothing. But at the same time virtually all the resolutions from meetings, letters, and appeals complain that while F. Loshchenkov was obkom first secretary serious shortcomings occurred in agriculture and the development of the social sphere. There were many errors in cadre policy. The command-and-administer style of leadership flourished. Therefore people associated Comrade Loshchenkov's name directly with the years of stagnation. We must reckon with the opinions of the majority of the oblast's party organizations and working people. After all, it is a question of the prestige of the party obkom and the entire oblast party organization."

F. Loshchenkov: "I did not seek or solicit election as a delegate. But I accepted it with gratitude. Can I have changed and become an object of loathing? What happened was something different: A mass, well organized, well coordinated campaign to indoctrinate public opinion against my candidacy began. Press articles, the holding of a rally, the collection of signatures, the spreading of all kinds of rumors—none of that was accidental. The organized persecution of me as a man, as a worker, began. Unsubstantiated accusations, not backed up by arguments, began to appear, accusing me of all the mortal sins—such as that I ruined agriculture, led the oblast to the brink, and so on and so forth. Yet objective statistics exist. And the most objective indicators is the award of orders of the Soviet Union to Yaroslavl and Andropov cites and 50 labor collectives. I categorically deny the charges. I worked honestly and conscientiously, sparing no effort or energy. I am convinced that justice will triumph."

A. Ignatchenko, first secretary of Yaroslavl's Kirovskiy CPSU Raykom: "At the last plenum, on 21 May, I voted for F. Loshchenkov. But that was my personal viewpoint. However, subsequent events and the course of party meetings showed that neither the obkom, nor the gorkom, nor our raykom knew the real situation. Why not? There is not enough glasnost, we are bad at consulting with people. Today this error must be rectified, taking into account the opinion of the people, who do not agree with Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a delegate."

N. Zhukova, secretary of the party committee on "Mali-novets" Sovkhoz, Rybinskiy Rayon: "An honored man has been held up to shame before the whole country. In my view the librarian Malygina, who wrote a letter to PRAVDA about Fedor Ivanovich, is an enemy of restructuring."

A. Razzhivin, chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Yaroslavl Oblast: "On the threshold of the party conference, the broadest masses, to whom restructuring is precious, express their active civic stance. The people are not indifferent to the question of who will be at the conference. For that reason, a protest sprang up against the election of F. Loshchenkov as delegate. And here the broad masses displayed high political awareness and warm support for restructuring. Restructuring is under way, but you, Fedor Ivanovich, are still the same. People have denied you their trust. I voted against you at the last plenum and I will vote against you today."

V. Chayenkov, chairman of the oblast council of veterans: "Today in his speech Fedor Ivanovich showed that he still adheres to a position of stagnation. Comrade Loshchenkov says that persecution of him has supposedly been organized. I declare: That is not so. People are not talking about Fedor Ivanovich as an individual. But the veterans say bitterly that he left behind him a neglected social program. For instance, 2,000 war invalids and families of those killed in the war are waiting for apartments in the oblast.... Unless the party obkom draws conclusions from all this today, it will be left behind in restructuring. I propose that Comrade Loshchenkov be deprived of his mandate as a conference delegate."

A. Bystrov, chairman of the CPSU obkom Party Control Commission: "I consider it an error that Comrade Loshchenkov's candidacy was discussed only at the obkom plenum, bypassing the party organizations of enterprises and organizations. Yet everyone is equal before the party. These errors must be rectified. The people at the conference should be Communists who are free from the burden of the past."

G. Mironov, rector of Yaroslavl University: "I will vote against, I can do nothing else."

A. Malushko, secretary of Yaroslavl Shipbuilding Plant party committee: "The obkom must acknowledge its error."

L. Karnakov, first secretary of Yaroslavl CPSU Gorkom: "If the former decision remains in force we will lose the confidence of Communists and everyone."

B. Smirnov, prorector of the Yaroslavl branch of the Timiryazev Agriculture Academy: "I think differently: Fedor Ivanovich Loshchenkov is a victim of restructuring and of our democracy that we are introducing. (Animation in the auditorium.) Some people may laugh at that, but he is worthy of being a delegate."

Yu. Shevelin, first secretary of Andropov CPSU Gorkom: "There have been no rallies in our city, but the reaction to Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a conference delegate is the same. It crystallizes the entire stagnation period."

Yu. Parnov, member of the CPSU obkom: "Need we publicly express a lack of confidence in Comrade Loshchenkov? Could he now stand up himself and speak in this spirit: I have worked hard, I value the trust, but I withdraw my candidacy?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Today the bureau members proposed to Fedor Ivanovich that he withdraw his candidacy, but he refused."

Hubbub in the auditorium. Voices: "But perhaps he will do it now?"

F. Loshchenkov: "I cannot agree to your proposal."

By a private (secret) ballot, F.I. Loshchenkov's candidacy was withdrawn from the list of delegates to the 19th party conference (87 obkom members voted for this, 13 against). The plenum elected Yu.V. Novikov, rector of the medical institute, delegate to the party conference.

12223

Estonian 'Popular Front' Meets with Conference Delegates

18000530 Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 21 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Report by ETA correspondents P. Raydia and L. Sher: "The Will of the People Is the Will of the Party"]

[Text] A vivid confirmation of the above statement was the meeting organized by the Popular Front initiative group with a group of Estonian Communist Party delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. As we already reported, the meeting was held on the evening of 17 June at the Pevcheskiy Field in Tallin.

Interest in the meeting was tremendous. Long before it began a stream of people and cars began to make their way to Pevcheskiy Field. People marched alone or in columns, carrying slogans and streamers. The area under the roof of the huge stage was packed yet people kept coming and coming. The place in front of the stage was filled to overflowing with benches. Columns arriving from different cities and rayons in the republic filled in the side passages. The people sat on the grassy slope behind the benches. It would be difficult to estimate the size of the crowd, for estimates vary (from 70,000 to 220,000). It can be said, however, that there were between 100,000 and 150,000 people gathered in the field. Nonetheless, model order prevailed among this huge crowd of people. The appearance of each new column was greeted with a storm of applause. This was followed by an even more powerful applause when the delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the members of the initiative center of the Popular Front appeared on the rostrum.

Frankly speaking, at first it seemed as though the mood of the throng of people who had gathered here was guarded and internally tuned to confrontation. This was probably caused by the discontent with the results of the elections of delegates at the Ninth Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and, above all, the fact that the drastic rejection of the policy which had marked the life of the entire society and the state for over one-quarter of a century could not fail to affect Estonia as well. This tension could erupt into a storm if the delegates to the conference could not prove that today the party of Estonian communists neither had nor could have interests other than those of the entire population of the republic, of its people.

In anticipation of events, let us immediately say that this meeting turned into a major and very important political victory. It was a victory in which there were no vanquished, a victory for both sides and for the common cause. It is only regrettable that it was not attended by all the delegates of the republic party organization but only by some of them, by no more than five members: I. Toome, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallin City Party Committee; M. Rossmann, teacher in Rakvere, Yu. Aare, television journalist, and T. Vyakhi, director of automotive base No 9 in Valga.

Here is another minor detail: Whenever the speaker on the rostrum spoke in Estonian, a simultaneous translation into Russian came out of the loudspeakers which were the closest to the Pirita section of the field. Therefore, the republic's population insufficiently fluent in Estonian and guests which, judging by all available information, were quite numerous on the field, had the opportunity actively to participate in the event.

The meeting was opened by the noted television journalists Kh. Sheyn and R. Yartik, on behalf of the provisional initiative center of the Popular Front.

In his address to the delegates, Kh. Sheyn said:

"You have the honor to be members of an unusual delegation, for this is the first time in many decades that you are being sent off by the entire Estonian people. They want to be with you in defending the sovereign and happy future of their republic. We would like you to take with you from here the concern, worries and hopes of our people and return to us with the news that the voice of the Estonian people was heard, understood and supported."

"Forty-eight years ago, also in June," said R. Yartik, "the democratic government of Iokhannes Vares Barbarus came to power. Soon afterwards, however, it was crushed by the milestone of Stalinism and, subsequently, by departmental arbitrariness. We must go back to those bright ideals. Let us do all of this together, sensibly and wisely, in the common family of Soviet peoples, and

build a future together with all the peoples of our planet, for although it may be round, this planet is our common home and relations among us must be clear and straight."

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. Savisaar took the microphone.

"For a long time," he said, "Estonia was covered by the thick fog of stagnation. Many people lost hope. Now this time is, likely, behind us. The people have taken heart. In some, this triggers faith and hope; in others, fear and confusion. Increased activeness is not only of great political but also moral significance, confirming our readiness to assume responsibility for our own present and our future. Standing here, shoulder to shoulder, we feel that there is no force which could turn us into blind executors of orders by outsiders. We respect all people, regardless of their nationality, but we wish that our rights and aspirations be equally respected. The conversion to democracy may be difficult, but it is taking place. To realize this, suffice it to look at one another, in each other's eyes, to turn around and then to recall the way we were only 3 years ago. The conversion to democracy must be taken to its completion. Then our descendants will remember us with respect.

"Today, five of the 32 delegates elected to attend the All-Union Party Conference, are standing among us. They must remember that answering to the people after the conference is even more important than consulting with them before it. Their mission is very responsible. However, we must not forget that history is nonetheless made by people through whose efforts the old is overthrown and through whose labor the new is built."

The floor was given to Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Golikov:

"Dear fellow citizens!"

"Let me greet you on the occasion of the fact that we lived to see this day. We have already deserved our present but we must as yet fight for the future. All of us find it difficult to become accustomed to the new realities. No one can claim to have the absolute truth, including even the broadest possible mass movement. That is why we must not only be tolerant but also patient. The party needs our support. Furthermore, without us no perestroika would be possible. That is the main thing which is uniting all of us today. I believe that that is what has brought us on this field, which is sacred to all Estonians and to everyone who loves Estonia and respects its people and its land. However, we have been brought here not only by hope but also by concern, concern for the fate of perestroika, the fate of democracy.

"Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher," Ye. Golikov said, "claimed that human life is affected more than anything else by two things: looking at the starry sky

above and at the moral law in one's own heart. In our complex world, it is very important to preserve humanness, to cultivate love, to protect variety within the unity which we represent. Today we have gathered here to instruct the delegates to the party conference. Both they and we must remember that the conference will be a serious test for all of us. That is why I call upon you to help our delegates to fulfill their mission at the conference. What divides us today must be set behind that which unites us. We struggle for perestroika to become not only a front, but a construction site.

"Today," the speaker stressed, "the attitude toward other nations and ethnic groups becomes a yardstick of humanity in a society. Perestroika will inevitably fail if its result is a distorted and one-sided development of some nations at the expense of other. We have already had more than enough of such practices. We have no right to allow or tolerate them in the future."

I. Toome, the first of the group of delegates present at the meeting, approached the microphone:

"It is clear to everyone," he said, "that an essential, a revolutionary change is currently taking place in our society. We cannot, we have no right to stop midway. The initiated changes must be continued and brought to their completion. It is equally clear that they can be carried out only by a people—a free people aware of their responsibility not only for the present but for the future, for the future of their native land and the children of Estonia, for its forests, rivers, lakes and fields, for peace and free labor for the sake of the future. What kind of future should this be? Our reason indicates that the time will come when society will no longer have any classes, states or parties. However, the reality of our days is such that they exist. Consequently, the main question now is the following: What type of state and party should we have today?

"I believe that in this connection we, delegates to the 19th Party Conference, must see our tasks as being the following: the soviets must become truly democratic agencies of the people's rule. To this effect, the very next elections should be based on the new electoral law; we also need a new and improved constitution; the formation of any new cabinet at the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet should be a formation of essence and not form. Every member of the government must realize that he is responsible to the people and that he has been appointed to this position not once and for all. The same democratic principle must be applied to the party as well.

"The Estonian Communist Party is a party of a sovereign, of an equal Union republic, a structural part of the CPSU and promoter of its policy of perestroika in Estonia. We must clearly define the party's role in

society and exclude in the future any duplication in the activities of party and soviet authorities and public movements. We must act jointly and not substitute for each other.

"The Estonian party members must more actively participate in the formulation and solution of party-political problems on an all-party scale. They must participate on an equal footing in the formulation of resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee if they pertain to the republic's party organization and our economic, ideological and social problems. In order to surmount the political and moral crisis of the period of stagnation the party must, above all, cleanse itself. We must get rid of the fatal consequences of obedience, hypocrisy and bureaucracy.

"The future of the restructuring of our economy is an Estonia functioning on a cost accounting basis, and the subordination of the entire national economy of the republic to our government. Our national relations must be based on reciprocal understanding and respect. This is one of the main postulates of humanism. We need more culture and tolerance. We must ensure social justice for all people of Estonia and guarantee the priority development of national culture and respect for national traditions.

"Stalinism was a man-hating criminal system. We must expose and make public the entire truth of those sinister times. We must eliminate injustice wherever this is still possible, rehabilitate the victims of Stalinism and perpetuate their memory.

"As I greet all those assembled here, on behalf of the conference delegates I assert that the concerns and problems of Soviet Estonia are our common concerns and problems."

Mare Rossmann, teacher, first secondary school, Rakvere, said:

"It is precisely now that all of us must join efforts. Last night, standing at Vallimäe, in Rakvere, I thought that the people, with their wisdom, memory and vital force, are a truly amazing phenomenon. Through lies and pain, through stagnation, despite the trampling of human dignity, the people believed in the advent of truth, for it is only on the basis of truth that works which glorify humaneness can be created, and because truth alone can heal the wounds.

"If the conference can make even a small contribution to the fact that in our country man begins to be truly valued and ennobled, this in itself would mean a great deal. Why am I mentioning the ennoblement of man today? We cannot wait by beginning first to bring order in the economy and only then become decent people, the more so since in the economy nothing can be accomplished without the help of man.

"The view that we could be ordered to work well and with dedication and to love the homeland warmly proved to be false. The understanding that the person must wish himself to work well came significantly later. More frequently we seem to be able only to criticize but not to correct what is bad."

M. Rossmann, who supported the idea of converting Estonia to full cost accounting, said that one can no longer live so poorly in such a rich land. As to national relations, the delegate noted that the national feelings of the Estonians are not directed against anyone.

"All we want," she said, "is to live freely and happily in our land. We want to decide for ourselves what precisely happiness means to us. We respect the same right for all other peoples. We wish friendship among all the peoples of the USSR but without having 'older' and 'younger' brothers."

Tiit Vyakhi, director of the Valga Automotive Transportation Base No 9, stepped up to the microphone:

"In dealing with all matters," he said, "I have always valued the knowledge of specialists. Our time, however, is apparently such that specialists in all professions must take part in politics. That is why today I do not feel out of place on this rostrum. I will probably not be discovering America if I said that we have reached a profound sociopolitical crisis. In order to surmount this crisis we must abandon the concept of expectation, the concept of embellishment. We must undertake to make radical changes.

"I believe that it is very important for Estonia and all Union republics to have their sovereignty acknowledged. The principle of a union-federation consisting of truly equal and sovereign republics must be asserted. What should be discussed is not the type of rights we are asking for ourselves but the fact that Union republics must gather together and decide what problems should remain within the range of competence of the Union. I believe that we must encourage the processes of democratization and self-government, so that the people will truly participate in management and that the leadership will obey the will of the people."

The floor was given to Ennu-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Tallin City Party Committee:

"When has it been that so many people have shown an interest in meeting with delegates to a party forum? Today I stand in front of you with feelings of concern and joy. Concern, because many party and nonparty people in our republic disagree with the way the delegates were chosen. Joy, because the people are experiencing unparalleled interest in who will represent Estonia at this important party forum.

"On what basis do we proceed as we go to the conference? The people want to know whether our principles are those of honesty, sober thinking and interests of the homeland. Here is my credo: Stalinism must be unreservedly condemned, so that nothing similar could ever happen again. We must be consistent and, if necessary, stubborn, in the good sense of the word, in promoting the development of an efficient mechanism which would ensure the sovereign rights of the republic. The development of each sovereign state within the country will add strength to the entire country. For that reason we must say most decisively 'no' to the license of Union departments. One of the guarantees for this could be the conversion of the Estonian SSR to cost accounting. This would make it possible to ensure a significantly more efficient organization of environmental protection and the hope will appear that in the future we will have clean air, water and soil. This is important to everyone, regardless of nationality.

"We can accomplish all of this only by acting jointly, together with the entire Estonian people. Perestroika and democratization must unite us even more rather than divide us."

Television journalist Yukhan Aare approached the microphone:

"In my hands," he said, "I have a container of a unique type of canned goods ever manufactured in Estonia. About this, however, I shall speak later.

"We have reached a period of long-awaited and very major and historically important changes. We need changes in politics, economics, and culture. We need changes in everything. Look at our industrial enterprises and plants in the northeastern part of Estonia; look at the Kunda Cement Plant, look at the enterprises in Tallin, and the quarries of Maardu. We have become accustomed to the figure that in recent decades the volume of industrial output in Estonia has increased by a factor of 40-50. However, we usually fail to add that most of this took place at the expense of the destruction of our natural resources. Look at Lasnamyae. Yesterday I spent 2 hours there, talking to construction workers and residents, Estonian as well as non-Estonian. I talked to children who asked to be taken away from that place, for life there was impossible. That part of the city is hostile to human life. Yesterday the construction workers suggested that the new homes be built totally without windows for, as it were, they would never get any sunlight.

"Look at our roads. We must clutch a piece of rubber between our teeth when we travel on them. Look at our fields and look at the variety of products on the farmer's table. Not only the hedgehogs but even the worms realize that we can no longer go on this way. This is leading us nowhere. Tell me, what kind of agriculture is it in which we produce ever more and get ever less? In Estonia we are in a state of profound ecological crisis. These canned

products are the proof. They contain water from Pyarnus Bay. Here is the explanation: The admissible level of pollution of the bay has been exceeded by a factor of 5,000. We shall take those cans with us to Moscow.

"Look at the dried out wells in the area of the Virumaa phosphorite deposits. If you visit the area you would realize that the greatest ecological catastrophe which would threaten us would come from there.

"Look at the thick clouds of dust over our electric power plants. We cannot allow ourselves the building of new electric power plants with obsolete technology and new mines which are now being planned for everywhere. This matter has another aspect as well. A new electric power plant and a new mine would considerably increase the size of the republic's population.

"Taking all of this into consideration, let me repeat the idea already expressed today: Our only salvation is a real regional economic autonomy. All natural resources must belong to us. We need a government elected by the people, who would be accountable to their own people."

Instructions to the delegates were given not only in prose, so to say, but also in poems, read by the noted satirist P. Aymla and poetess A. Alavayne.

The participants in the meeting were greeted by Aleksandr Serkov, on behalf of the Perestroika Club in Leningrad, and by A. Yuozaytis, candidate of philosophical sciences and winner of the bronze medal for swimming at the 1976 Olympics, and by Doctor of Economic Sciences K. Prunskiyene, on behalf of the recently created Lithuanian Popular Front.

The floor was then given to A. Danilson, turner at the Tartu timber combine:

"Yesterday's events (Tenth Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum)," he said, "have led me to throw away the speech I had written for this meeting, as I was driving, and to come up with new ideas. Once again I would like to remind the delegates of the difficult burden they must assume as they go to represent our land, our people, at the All-Union Party Conference. Perestroika is gathering pace. You, honored delegates, can no longer wait for the completion of the tremendous work done by doctors and candidates of sciences in the interpretation of our history. In just a few days you will have to explain, including to those who, in 1940, destroyed our books, whether scientific or for children, with their axes, that we are a people with an age-old culture. The Estonian people have their own traditions and customs. We are not imposing them on other peoples nor do we wish those of others to be imposed upon us. We in Estonia had always worked conscientiously, until it became clear to us that what mattered were not results but indicators. It was against that background that there developed brigade leaders who forced women to plaster and paint unheated premises in winter and

adolescents, graduates of vocational-technical schools, to mix concrete with shovels, in the cold. It was on the basis of such 'internal reserves,' if one may use this term, that these people received awards. Against the background of an overall economic decline, one or two model-display enterprises or farms were developed in each city or rayon, and their supermanagers and party workers made careers with incredible speed. I did not hear, however, that any Dutch or Canadian farmers came to visit such farms to gain experience or that our brigade leaders were invited as consultants by Japanese or West German firms.

"Those who made their careers so rapidly at that time are now concerned with one thing only: to protect the existing management system and their jobs and positions. We have become tired not of work but of the endless experimentations they are inventing. We have become accustomed calmly and thoroughly to weigh our affairs and to implement our plans with the same type of good sense and energy. We need good managers, thoroughly familiar with economic laws. If we have such managers all the stupidities found on store shelves would disappear and, with them, the objective reasons which encourage the production of such stupidities, replaced by goods which will be of truly world standards. We do not wish, and that is something that the delegates must say in Moscow, for Estonia to become a hog-breeding combine of Union significance, or a mill grinding phosphorite flour.

"On behalf of the working people of Estonia, and I went to work before I was even 7 years old, I call upon you, delegates to the conference, to dedicate all efforts to changing the electoral system, to amending the constitution, in such a way as to prevent the restoration of the Stalinist system forever. I would like you to pass on to Moscow that the Estonian people will never agree to sharing the fate of the Vepsy and Karely. We shall be waiting for you to come back and we hope that you will come holding your heads high. And when you come, we shall roll up our sleeves and together undertake to build a sovereign Estonian SSR, based on cost accounting."

"Our people," said M. Lauristin, head of the department of journalism, Tartu State University, "have heard many beautiful speeches and given many promissory notes, many of which were never redeemed. Today we must

begin by cashing them and only then should new ones be issued to us, such that cannot be cashed today. I believe that the main result of today is that every one of us felt that the Popular Front, the unified people's front in Estonia, was indeed born. In the past year we clearly established for ourselves what we wish. Today these thoughts and demands were voiced: the sovereign Union republics have made a definitive and irreconcilable evaluation of Stalinism as an inhuman system which destroys the faith of the people in socialism and democracy, and tolerance of any honest views, whatever the form in which they may be expressed; we need a new leadership which would rally us in the pursuit of common aspirations."

A traditional sentence found in official reports is the following: "The speeches were heard with attention and repeatedly interrupted with applause." Let us point out that in this case this reflected with perfect accuracy the reaction to the speeches. However, this was not a case of applause but of thunderous ovations.

The meeting ended with the adoption of an appeal to the delegates, which has already been published in the press. However, those who had gathered here failed to disperse for a long time afterwards, the more so since the popular Yustament ensemble replaced the speakers on the platform.

We know that by no means everyone would be pleased with our report. Many will say that it includes by no means all that which was said at the meeting. This is true. However, a report is not a record which would be spread over several newspaper columns. Naturally, we chose what seemed to us the most essential, the most typical and, possibly, that which agreed to the greatest extent with our views and thoughts. However, as was also said at the meeting, no one should claim to hold the absolute truth, nor do we.

It is very difficult to describe in a report the atmosphere which prevailed at Pevcheskiy Field: it was serious, practical minded and principled and, at the same time, uplifted, festive. That is because, let us repeat ourselves, this meeting was a true festivity, a holiday of unity, a demonstration of the resolve to follow the course of perestroika to the end.

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